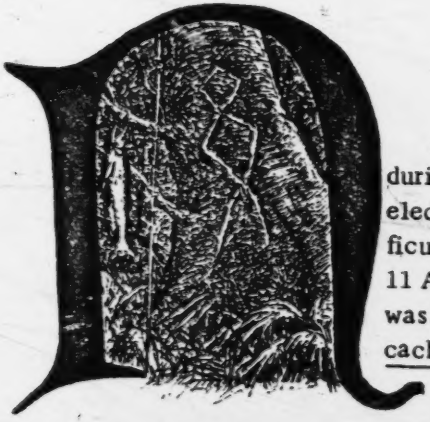
1: Steinen--34 DE-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

Eleventh Chapter

The Wild Bakaïrí. The Kustenaú /Custenau/.



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After all kinds of troubles during the morning, we traveled for a stretch without difficulties on the afternoon of 11 August, and again there was heard the rumble of the cachoeira /cataract; see the glossary, p. 170 /, which by this time had become positively gruesome for us all. To our joyous amazement we found
[487] an Indian canoe on the left shore. Below a beautiful waterfall poured forth on two ledges; poles and steps were set in it; it foamed and churned in a basin, only to form another level farther below.

122 For the moment, however, we have no eye for the salto; where are the Indians? We all gather, leave behind three men to guard the canoes, and push forward, gun in hand. -- The
[137] ground is strewn with jatobá /see the glossary, p. 171 / fruits; a
[487] well-trod path leads inland. We pass by a tree, into the bark of
[532] which the outlines, one-half life-sized, of a man above and a woman below have been crudely carved.

241 Silently our column marches through the forest -- the narrow path stops -- a clearing. There is thick smoke and steam rising from the tree stumps that stand there like broken pillars, in between a tangle of trunks and boughs on the ground, everything in

/163 cont./

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1. (cont.)
magnetite, in which are embedded individual crystals of olivine and quite a number of quartz granules.

415 Tall storage baskets of biconcave profile (one meter 40 centimeters long, 35 centimeters wide at the top), wound with brown bast bands and lined in the interior with maize
412 leaves, contain the flour and are very stout. The grating boards on which the mandioca is pulverized are about 115 centimeters long and 80 centimeters wide.

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Gourd-vessel (drinking-vessel) designs of the Bakaïrí.

251 High up a great quantity of dusty corncobs.

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[353]
[824] A number of strange dolls, which hang down from the vault on long strings, seem the most striking; they are plaited out of maize leaves: turkey-sized birds, projecting wings made out of one leaf and circularly twisted legs with three toes; others are slender, human-like figures, /164/ a small head on top, broken up below into narrow frippery. In our house we found two lizards made of grass, whose four feet come together in a ring, so that one can put them on one's head.

/165 cont./

609 mix for him -- whereas the boy of a Brazilian colonist, to whom I was called in Rosario, leaped out of bed and fled from me into the forest.

186 823 The old sibyl joined us this evening on the open plaza. She pointed to the west, "Bakaïrí!"; to the south, "Bakaïrí!"; to the north and east likewise "Bakaïrí!"' and finally, describing a circle in the air, she summed up with proud satisfaction, "Bakaïrí!" In translation: "All this is subject to me, admit that I am fortunate."

132 14 Aug. 6:00 A.M.: dry. 11.7, wet. 10.6.
2:00 P.M.: dry. 34.9, wet. 20.0, clear, NE 1.
4:05 P.M.: I 740.8, II 730.0, dry. 34.0, hypsom. 98.825.
9:00 P.M.: dry. 18.0, wet. 17.0.

126 /166/ I was fortunately able to measure three women. [124] [532] Antonio is very useless as an interpreter and causes more difficulties than the harmless people themselves. I also traded for a few maize-straw dolls; judging from the ease with which the transaction was made, there seemed to be no higher or in any sense a religious meaning attached to them.

592 We spent some time in Pauhaga's, or rather Chief Caváco's house; it differed in nothing essential from that of the professor; there were no straw dolls.

137 We found inhame (Dioscorea, yams), which we greeted 252 with joy. -- The fish are grilled on just such racks as we came across on the Batovy; they are exposed to the fire until they are encased in a thick charcoal crust; capybara leg, which tasted like fat fish, and monkey steak were also charred on the outside in this fashion. The crisp charcoal gives the insipid-tasting meat, which is not salted, an -- faute de mieux -- improved flavor. The [263] Bakaïrí are also familiar with a very medicinal tasting salt made from tree ashes, which, however, they do not seem to use in the preparation of food.

609 431 The soldiers, who were paying their farewell visit, were given generous quantities of beijús, puvas, and polvilho /manioc 252 flour; see the glossary, p.172 / as presents. The grated and pounded mandioca is pressed through mats; the pulp is put into

/168 cont./

574 other, the professor, naked, but, along with bow and arrow, one of our mirrors in his hand. We were undoubtedly well recommended.

532 Shortly before the exit from the woods we came across a wonderful display of about a dozen animal figures along one side of the path, /169/ probably the remains from a festival. They were made of leaves and straw, mostly quadrupeds with long, thin bodies, consisting of practically nothing but spinal column and long legs; the tallest ones reached to our hips. Something that was evidently supposed to be a monkey was climbing up a pole. A human figure was incised in a tree, with roguish use of a depression present in the bark. Such is the beginning of art in the primeval forest.

361 After we had passed a roça and low shrub planting, we saw [241] four huts, two large ones and two small ones, lying correspondingly opposite each other. The nobility was assembled on the 574 plaza; [576] a friendly "am(b)á" (that is you) with raised hand welcomed each one. Then, one after the other, we were grasped [345] at the wrists by our hosts, mostly by two at the same time, and led before the festival hut, where beam and stool were ready./ [illegible]. Here we sat is long rows with our guns, and immediately [123] the serving of mingau began. Then we did our tricks, cut nails, let them look through the opera glasses, lighted a match with fire steel, etc. The professor beamed; he was reaping honor with us.

[301] A sturdy young man, a diadem of stiff jaguar skin over his [624] forehead, seemed to be acting as herald. He poured busily, screamed louder than the others, and grasped everything most quickly. I had the feeling that we were traveling circus artists and were being informally received and treated in a club. One 302 of the younger sportsmen had had his body painted with black 531 squares, which were joined at the edges with short lines. The drawing on the upper thigh of another -- a black wavy line and in the depressions of it black dots -- definitely resembled the skin marking of a fish, the pintado.

/169 cont./

126 [301] I acquired cheaply some belt strings of round stone disks with the diameter of a thick pencil, as well as a necklace of jaguar claws, by hooking the fish hook, as an ornament, into the ear lobes of these people, who do not know how to appreciate it as a means of catching fish.

622 The chief was striking because of his stupid face and a big nose; he treated us with aristocratic indolence and indifference. --
301 237 Several wore two yellow feathers in each ear; these were stuck in a little bunch of red feathers that protruded from a small husk. The most beautiful head-ornament, however, was a simple row of yellow feathers up to 12 centimeters long, in the center of which towered a long arara feather.

562 [554] [302] Stealthily a few women appeared. There was an old woman here, too, who /170/ kept the tribe in order; she had curly hair. One woman, who had a boy astride her right hip, was painted all over her body with a disgusting yellow pigment.

342 345 353 The two large huts were round, the two small ones elliptically long, resembling scales. In one of them, the festival hut, we discovered strange things. Between the supporting beams, on cross-poles, hung a great number of the most diverse colorful
292 532 headpieces. They all had a straw frame for fitting them on the head. The colors were white, black, red, and orange, all applied crudely. There were open cylinders of bast of the consistency of cardboard, red, set with black squares; two large gourd /illustration appears here/ vessels, one with small yellow feathers pasted over it, the other with small blue feathers, and smaller ones painted with red and white areas; on the edge buriti fibers one meter long hung down like a woman's hair; a stuffed hide of a little fox, likewise an otter, both with a straw frame for putting them on. Two black and white sword-like pieces of wood -- representing rattlesnakes, according to Antonio. A stiff frame of stalks, in which sat little swallows, with cotton stuffed in between everywhere. The birds, perfectly recognizable in shape, white, head and back of neck black, a few with yellow belly. A larger bird, painted red and black, was looking out of one of the cylinders (1).

1. Cf. the first ethnological plate /see pp. 166-162/.

/171 cont./

122 19 Aug. φ 12° 53'.0, λ12'.4, km. 31.03, total 195.45.
132 6:35 A.M.: dry. 15.0, water 24.3.
5:43 P.M.: I 742.2, dry. 26.1, water 26.0.
9:30 P.M.: I 742.8, dry. 21.1.

137 /172/ The river landscape changes its physiognomy somewhat. Shrubs and light-green, fine-leaved bushes, which form tall bowers or rounded, dense masses, occupy the foreground. Willow-like trees often stand as though planted, with delicate, slender trunks. We have not exactly come out of the forest river into a meadow river, but the low-plain character predominates. The sand barranca is steep. Easterly direction of the river.

122 20 Aug. φ12° 51'.1 λ12'.8, km. 6.27, total 201.72.
132 7:00 A.M.: dry. 19.3, water 25.1, at night 2-3:00 thunderstorm in NW.

Today the sky is covered with strato-cumulus and the air is showery damp.

133 At an early hour we reached a branch stream 20 meters wide, emptying in quietly from the right. Finally a tributary.

361 The third aldea, located on the left bank, is not quite two
[342] kilometers from the Batovy. There are three huts, lower, smaller,
and less conical than previously. We three again install ourselves
122 for a night among the good people, and even Antonio, who has given up his mistrust, sleeps along with us.

364 As agreeable as this "little village" is, it must be called
345 the dirtiest of the three. The floor of the festival hut is covered with dry grass and refuse of all kinds; the sun shines through the roof, so that inside we are able to light our pipe with the burning-
[532] glass. It is obviously still unfinished and new; besides a few arrows and several rattles, flat wooden fish are stuck on the walls as the products of local artistic activity.

162 Census: 13 men, 12 women and -- the most favorable proportion so far -- 19 children. Among them there are a man and a woman of another tribe whom we are to meet farther
142 downstream, the Kustenaŭ /Custenau/. In type I am unable to see any essential differences; in fact, the more Bakaïrí we meet, The more uncertain I am in abstracting the common features.

/176 cont./

433 It is clear that here agriculture falls behind hunting and
181 fishing; Aldea IV is military in character and forms the frontier
648 defense against alien tribes.

763 In one hut lay an ancient, paralytic little woman emaciated to a skeleton, whose soul seemed to say "åla Bakaïrí" (it is enough Bakaïrí) and was trying impatiently to flutter away. The hammock was resting partly on the ground; two women squatted beside it and, as garrulous cronies, explained to us the suffering of the dying little mother.

231 Of tame animals we found a heron, small parrots, a king-fisher and the socó-morena.

345 The festival hut was 18 meters long, nine meters wide.
532 There were clumsily carved wooden fish hanging there, as well as a few finless specimens, wound bands which perhaps represented the electric eel.

Two square pieces of wood, painted red and white, with modeled nose and two eye sockets were striking; they are held in front of the face and represent doves, whose voice the artist can imitate better than the head (1).

1. Cf. the second ethnological plate /see p. 165/.

534 /177/ Four menis and a number of rattles were stuck in the
353 side walling.

624 Only in the festival hut did the herald put down his bow and arrows, but he did not part with them during our entire stay, even
[276] when he handed us a few bundles of tobacco. The latter, by the way, was better than among the earlier Bakaïrí. A few modest old
622 people were there, none with gray hair; among them the chief and, if I understood correctly, a vice-chief, the authority during the time the former is absent.

123 A shooting demonstration on the plaza filled them with
152 terror; they jumped with fright and turned away convulsively, most of all the mighty herald. His "åla, åla" was very humble and urgent.

1: Steinen--160 D, E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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Ethnological Plate I /reproduced on pp. 160/-164/. 1-10 Bakaïrí: 1-4, headdresses from festival hut. 5. Straw wreath with feathers. 6. Ear feathers. 7. Comb. 8-10. Necklaces: 8, little stone disks; 9, pieces of shell (also very popular among the Suyá); 10, jaguar claws. 11. Trumaí feather cap. 12 and 13. Suyá feather diadem. 14. Yuruna ear-feather.

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532

1: Steinen--161 D, E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

/From Ethnological Pl. I:
2 and 3, Bakaïrí headdresses
from the festival hut./

1: Steinen--162 D, E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7
Trumai SP23
Suyá SP21
Yuruna SQ26

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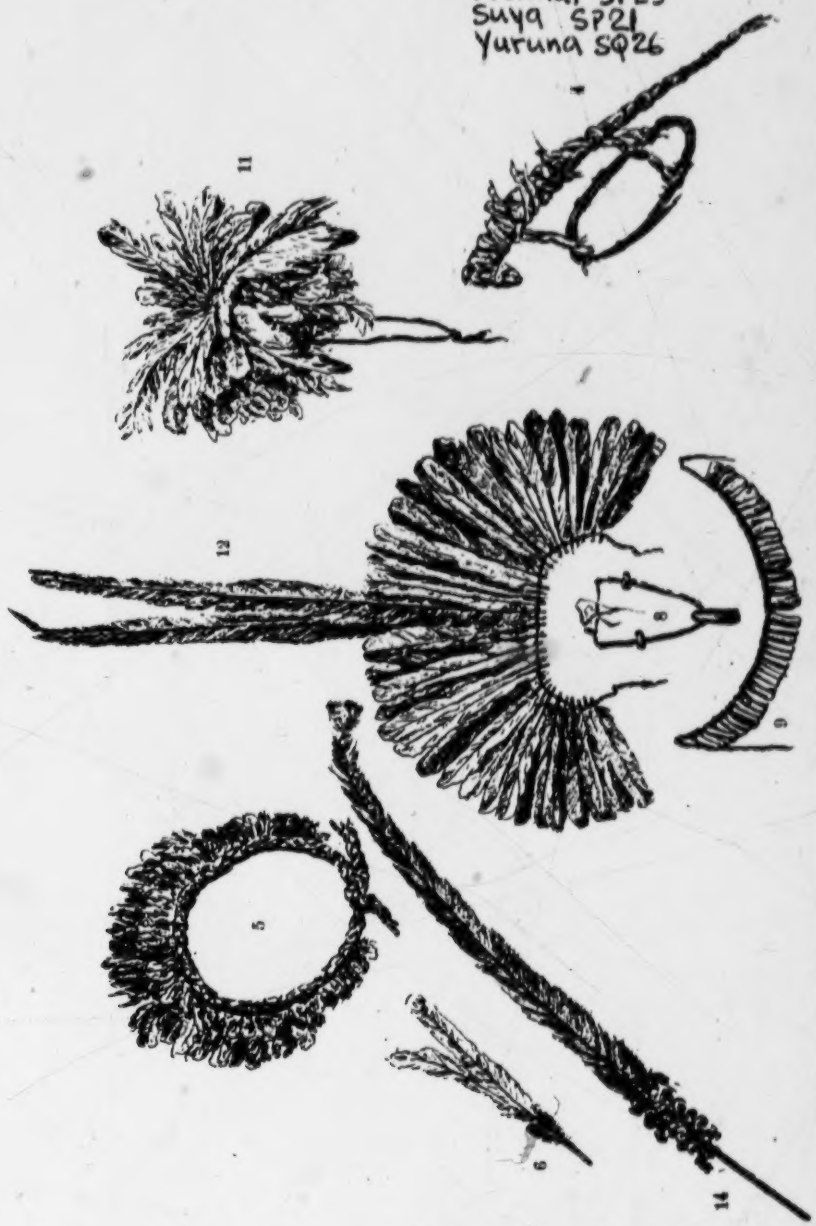

/See caption on following page./

1: Steinen--163 D, E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7
Trumai SP23
Suya SP21
Yuruna SQ26

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/From Ethnological Pl. I: 4, Bakaïrí headdress from the festival hut; 5, Bakaïrí straw wreath with feathers; 6, Bakaïrí ear feathers; 8-9, Bakaïrí necklaces (8, stone disks; 9, pieces of shell and also popular among the Suyá); 11, Trumaí feather-cap; 12, Suyá feather-diadem; 14, Yuruna ear-feather./

1: Steinen--165 D, E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7
Trumai SP23
Suya SP21
Yuruna SQ26

T 411

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B 532

S 411

Ethnological Plate II

/reproduced on pp. 165-169/. Bakaïrí: 1. Dove mask for a dance. 2. Flute (meni). 3. Stone ax. 4. Oar. Trumaí: 5. Club. Suyá: 6. Club. 7. Arrow thrower (throwing board). 8. Stone ax. 9. Bone knife. 10. Beijú turner. Yuruna: 11. Oar. 12. Flute. 13. Gourd rattle. Karajá: 14. Club.

/60 cont./

353 remained free, was the kitchen and storage place for supply baskets, pots, earthen beiju pans, sieves, mats, back baskets, mortars, pestles, and calabashes. Sticks were plaited with vines onto the main posts, where again gourd bowls or bundles [532] [251] of tobacco were hanging, from a cross beam dangled large birds with straw-plaited legs and tails, which looked very mysterious and were solely for the purpose of storing the maize ears, out of which their insides and wings were constructed, in a manner pleasing to the eye. The floor was covered with a stone-hard deposit of the fine white mandioca flour, the mortars and pestles were flour-white, and the pots smoke-blackened. Above the doors, baskets with calabashes, basket-weirs, fishing nets, on the walls of the "rooms," bows, stone axes, the gaily feathered arrows projecting out of the straw of the dome, a stock of small baskets, drinking bowls, and smaller utensils; on the floor, white balls of loam, little pots, stools, pieces of wood, fire fans, and the ashes of the small fire which everyone maintains at night beside and almost under his hammock; hanging on the hammock, a small bunch of colorful feathers and the comb; here and there a pyramid made of rods with the grill; /61/ a couple of the sticks with which [372] fire is rubbed were also hung up and beside them was tied a small packet of the tinder bast.

356 In short: family dwelling in full operation, precisely as [353] much disorder as was required for comfort, everything clean [412] and nicely arranged, everything hung up, boxed, turned up-side down, no iron nails and screws, but only cord and plaiting, all worked with stone ax, animal tooth, and shell. Total impression: the wall, the hammocks, the calabashes, the human beings, brown; brown in every shade, but harmoniously 342 tinted, all crust /Knaus/. Here and there the sun shone through a crack in the straw dome, in front of the door the daylight was sharply cut off, and the lane between the doors lay in semishade; through the vent, which was quite tightly closed, a few bright rings and circles fell on the floor, and faint motes of sunlight danced in the ascending smoke.

/91 cont./

133 Tumayaua declared that he had heard them shout. It is probable
[101] that the fire glow which we had repeatedly noticed in the east, and which had been regularly observed in the evening at Independencia, came from them. Barely an hour later, the Kewayeli, about 12 meters wide, flowed in from the left. On both banks queimada and plantings.

484 From the second village Tumayaua had taken along as a companion Pakurali, a short, stocky old man who did not look as though he were a great sorcerer, and whom we, with a lack of
[482] respect, called the "cab driver." They did not have much luggage with them and easily packed it into the mayaku, their
[286] back-baskets for carrying loads. They had taken along on the journey, not cotton hammocks, but hammocks made of palm fiber, which are lighter and dry quickly if they become wet. /92/ The two made rapid progress, even though they were bent on fishing at every favorable spot. We had let the great sorcerer sniff a bottle of ammonia, which had horrified him no little. After that he could no longer be enticed to smell any of our things. If one of us calls from a corner that it stinks there, everybody runs over and sniffs.

103 To the Third Bakairi Village (Kuyaqualiti).

361 The harbor at which we arrived at 4:45 lay at the end of a lateral inlet and would not have been found without a guide.

The next morning, 6 October, we departed at 7:00 for the village and reached it in three-quarters of an hour on the usual
• [532] winding forest-trail. On the way we saw a large human figure carved in tree bark, with three fingers on the hands and stump-like feet.

Harpia village, "kuyaquali-ĕti," also had only three houses and a flute-house, but was the liveliest of the three villages.
162 I counted 31 men and just about as many women and children.
621 Some of the latter, however, had run into the woods. There
574 were probably about 100 souls in the village. The chief, Porisa,
622 was a small, friendly gentleman; he had had beiju baked at night.

/92 cont./

574 night. We sat down in the middle of the large plaza in a long row. Each one was brought a drinking bowl; the largest, along
574 with a cigar, fell to me. Speeches of welcome were now ex-
576 changed with great volubility.

ĩma, you = that is you. ehẽ ũra, yes, I = indeed, that is I. bakaĩrĩ ũra, I (am a) Bakaĩrĩ. kyarĩiba ũra, I (am a) Karaibe. bakaĩrĩ kyũra, (the) Bakaĩrĩ (are) good. kyarĩiba iwakulukũlu, (the) Karaiben (are) very good. pĩma ĩma? (are) you (the) chief? pĩma ũra, I (am the) chief.

183 Opposite each Karaiben squatted a Bakaĩrĩ and admired him and what he wore. The Swedish matches, knives, mirrors, buttons, beads -- it was always the same routine. Except that in the case of Porisa it was my notebook that was most appreciated, and it was not the written pages or those covered with drawings, but the white, empty sheets that elicited exclamations of delight from him. We also strode about the plaza in pairs, arm in arm, in affable conversation. We studied the geographical distribution of the Kuliseĥu tribes in detail, but the dwelling places of the Trumaĩ still remained as obscure as before.

345 The flute-house was large and spacious, its roof dilapidated, much straw lay on the floor inside, and here, as in the houses, we missed the cleanliness which pleased us so in the other vil-
534 lages. In front of the flute-house, resting on cross-sticks, lay a
[532] huge hollow tree-trunk -- a morcego (bat) tree our men called it -- /93/ irregularly painted with human figures and fish vertebrae. During festivals they drummed on this giant instrument with thick wooden clubs, similar to the mandioca pestles.

535 Inside there were handsome masks and a new form of dance costume: two huge crinolines ten meters in circumference, covered with straw, and comparable to small huts, koĩlu, which
126 the dancer wore on a ring on his shoulder. Soon enthusiastic
301 barter was under way everywhere. We obtained fine feather
239 ornaments, crowns made of arara feathers, which are light blue
526 on one side, yellow on the other, dainty mats in which they are
283

W 132 /130 cont./ rained by buckets, and the shower bath was quite cold, scarcely more than 15°. Our good Mehinakú were unhappy that we did W [821] not follow their example and puff against the heavenly sluices; they hastily built a protective roof, probably more to keep busy, and complained incessantly "uläpe, uläpe!"

W 122 In the harbor of the Mehinakú we acquired another canoe; meanwhile the Auetó who had accompanied us this far had disappeared without a trace. Vogel's hunting knife was also missing.

Y 245 The Nahuquá village was in the middle of the pikí harvest. Like cannon balls in an arsenal, the pikí lay in piles outside Y 251 and inside. Racks had been set up in the houses to dry the seeds, the women were busy peeling the fruit, cooking it, and scraping the seeds, human beings and utensils butter yellow -- Caryocar Y [751] butyrosum. No pogu, but pikí juice; the pikí seeds with an Y 124 almond-like taste, an electuary "pikí herb" not at all bad in moderate doses. Many sick in the hammocks, stomach and skin Y 123 affected, one old baldhead, face and head covered with sores. [431] Tumayaua was given pikí as a parting gift for the trip. Only one newborn child, which the mother brought to us so that we would blow on it, seemed to know nothing yet about pikí.

B 648 In Bakaírí village III, which, by the way, the Nahuquá B 731 accompanying us did not want to enter, the old festival hut had burned down and the people were very much afraid of the previously greatly admired matches. But we did find magnifi- B 552 cent bird-masks and fish-masks. Of the two canoes we ordered, B 122 one was not yet finished and the other had been wrecked.

501 Bakaírí village II seemed deserted. The occupants were B 123 in part absent, why remained unclear; also, we had apparently seen foreign guests the first time and included them. Chief B [822] Aramóke, however, was gracious as ever and had set before us beijús which we could have offered the most distinguished tea guests at home. It was only with great difficulty that we found a few men to transport part of the collection for some distance overland. It was always said that they had to stay with the B 752 children. Then in the chief's house lay a woman with burns on

/181 cont./

*171 304 [648] contact, sometimes peaceful, sometimes hostile, with the western Bakaïrí, of whom we still found two women, kidnapped as children, in the Paranatinga village. The Paressí pierced the ear lobes of their women so that they could always be distinguished from the Bakaïrí women, and their men pierced the nasal septum, inserted a little

[532] [237]

Fig. 12. Wooden mask of the Bakaïrí, with ear and nose feathers.

piece of reed in it, and stuck into only one end of this a long arara feather or ordinary toucan feather, whereas the ear ornament of the women consisted of a little triangular piece of nut shell.

301 304 [178] [532] Among the Bakaïrí today feathers are no longer worn in the nose, but we found masks with a hole in the elongated septum of the wooden nose, through which an arara feather stuck into a piece of reed projected out on either side. There is also a difference in the size of the hole among men and women, to which my attention was especially drawn by the Bakaïrí themselves; in it the men wear a thin piece of kambayuwa reed, in which the feather or a thin bone is inserted, the women a thick kambayuva peg or a thick bone or stone. The latter is never used by the men.

/201 cont./

181 only that all creatures behaved essentially as he did, that they
825 had their family life, communicated with one another by means of sounds, had dwellings, sometimes fought with one another, and nourished themselves from hunting booty or from fruits; in short, he felt as though he were primus inter pares, not above them; he knew nothing about all those good things to the effect that there is a difference whether one draws conclusions in situational images or in concepts, and whether one acts purposefully according to associations which are inherited complete within the species, or according to tradition which is handed down by the parents by means of language. His myths and legends, which [793] to us seem like pure fairy tales and animal fables and which he takes just as seriously as we do the sacred books with their doctrine, in which he lets human beings and animals mingle, would necessarily be only playful jests if he regarded himself as created out of a different substance than other creatures are. We can understand these human beings only if we regard them as the product of a hunting culture. They gathered the main body of their experiences from animals, and with these experiences primarily, since it is only through the old that one is capable of understanding the new, they explained nature, fashioned their world view. [532] Accordingly, their artistic motifs, as we shall see, are borrowed, with amazing one-sidedness, from the animal kingdom; indeed, their entire, surprisingly rich art is rooted in the hunting life and did not flower until a more peaceful existence provided protection for the buds. From the outset I cannot refer often enough to these conditions, since otherwise we should not properly evaluate the material culture of the natives and should not understand their mental culture at all.

*171 On the other hand, it is a fact that the products of agricul-
174 ture -- except in the case of the Trumaí -- have been in the
241 possession of our Indians since time immemorial. A comparison of the languages furnishes irrefutable proof. It teaches us first of all that the tribes of the Schingú belong to different language families. It teaches us furthermore that in the case of each one the branching off from the basic people concerned took place

W /242 cont./
323 not have to build up the walls with thin clay cylinders put on top of one another as is ordinarily described. She smoothed the walls with a piece of gourd, not a stone. She modeled the ornamental edge-projections, which represented the body parts of an animal, and then put them on; she scratched in the eyes and nose with a little bamboo rod. An old broken-out bottom or a beijú pan is popularly taken as a model for the bottom of the pot.

B The clay is whitish-gray to grayish-yellow. Only the Waurá
*171 pots have a pretty, light red clay. The new pot is properly
323 dried in the sun and then turned upside down on a very sooty fire;
824 for that they use the green bark of a campo tree which the Bakaïrí call kutére, or of the guanandí (Calophyllum) saturated with sticky resin. Thus the pot, like the gourd, is blackened on the inside.

000 /243/

Chapter X.

I. Drawing.

Origin from the drawing gesture. Descriptive drawing older than artistic drawing. Sand drawings. Pencil drawings. Explanation of the plates. Profile position. Proportions. Number of fingers. Bark drawings.

B The simplest drawing that we can observe is probably the one
*171 directly connected with an explanatory gesture. Just as the na-
201 tive, to demonstrate the sense of hearing, cleverly reproduces
532 the characteristic voice sounds of an animal and is always tempted to do this in connection with any lively narrative, so also, with respect to the sense of sight, he imitates the animal in pose, walk, movements and, for better understanding, draws any peculiar body parts, such as ears, snout, or horns, in the air, or he outlines his own corresponding body parts with his hand. The drawing gesture is exactly parallel to the imitation of animal voices. As soon as this procedure is no longer adequate, however,

B /243 cont./
*171 one draws on the ground or in the sand. In taking down the
20 vocabulary, I was extraordinarily often able to convince myself
●532 that the inner perception was converted into an explanatory
[124] sand-drawing involuntarily and without being demanded by me.
To be sure, it happened most often if the shape of the animal was particularly suitable for this, as in the case of snakes, an alligator head, and fish, where, in addition, a voice could not be imitated. Furthermore, it is to be freely admitted that the impulse for the realm of hearing was disproportionately stronger among these hunters, and also that in intercourse among themselves they undoubtedly confined themselves to the drawing gesture for the sense of sight. Indeed, they could actually limit themselves to this. Toward me there was the additional thought: "since the man does not understand our language, how can we in this case be adequately clear?" and they drew in the sand.

It is enough if one is justified in concluding from the behavior of the Indians that the drawing gesture, on the level where it still forms a not unessential supplement to the language, easily develops into actual drawing. /244/ We see, and this is the important thing, that here among primitive peoples drawing is used like gesture, to convey a message and not to reproduce graceful forms, and, on the basis of the personal impression that I gained from the directness of explanatory drawing, I believe
B that it is older than the ornamental-artistic kind. One may per-
[531] haps object that the Schingú /Xingu/ Indians are already artists who cover all their implements with drawings and ornamentation, and that is why drawing as a means of expression is particularly
BO natural to them. To this I can only reply that the Bororó, whom
171 I should like to mention often in this connection in an anticipatory
532 way, made magnificent feather ornaments, to be sure, but knew practically nothing about the graphic arts, and that they were the very ones who had a greater skill and greater fancy for drawBO ing in the sand for explanation than did the Schingú people. They
[224] were restless fellows, however, who lived from the hunt; they had never found the leisure to practice painting and plastic art like those who, to be sure, still practiced hunting and fishing, but had already advanced to sedentary farming.

/245 cont./

associated with the older representation. In the field of painting, we come across such productions in the form of geometric ornamentation. Dots and dashes may be the equivalents of the old markings. But even such "simple" figures as triangles and squares, which one would think could be freely constructed by the most primitive artists, originated only through the stylization of representations, and, since they automatically recommended themselves to the technique as types, they easily won out over more complicated structures in the struggle for existence.

Now just a word about the motifs of our Indian art. They have been borrowed exclusively from the animal kingdom. Andree in his well-known /246/ article, "Das Zeichnen bei Naturvölkern /Drawing Among Primitive Peoples/,"* points out

*Ethnographische Parallelen und Vergleiche, n.s., Leipzig, 1889, p. 59.

that the plant only rarely plays a role and adds: "In order to arrive at an understanding of this phenomenon we need only remember that among our children, too, when they make their first independent attempts at drawing on the blackboard, animals and human beings in crude forms are represented first; the living, mobile animal is more apt to capture their attention, is also easier to grasp in its entire figure than the plant consisting of numerous leaves and blossoms."

This pertinent remark is in perfect accord with the relationship between gesture and drawing which I maintain. By means of gestures I imitate an animal, not a tree, and not only because the latter does not move actively. It is easy for me to express parts of the animal body by means of gestures, because in doing so, proceeding from my own body, if, for example, I wanted to depict a pair of donkey ears or some antlers, I would immediately indicate the position and the type of the organ, whereas I should be unable to express parts of a plant by means of gestures, unless I use words to help out. Among our Indians, however, drawing is only a special case; the animal motif dominates their entire

/246 cont./

*171 mental world in every art and science, no matter what it is
18 called, and there can be no foundation for this other than their
825 hunting culture.

000 The material interest in the animal precedes the formal or esthetic interest. The flower in art is secondary, exactly as it is in ornamentation; first the feather in the ear and then the little bunch of flowers on the hat. I saw araucarias portrayed in the "picture writing" of the virador in Rio Grande do Sul. A palm tree would be just as easy to draw as a pine, but no palm in the north furnishes such indispensable food as the araucaria formerly provided for the "bugre" /wild Indian/ of that southern province. Before art went after bread, if I may alter the meaning of the sentence somewhat, it went after meat and fish. I shall have to come back to this subject, especially in connection with the products of the ceramic art.

*171 Sand drawings. They are at first a form of communication,
212 like words. I have spoken of how the descriptive gesture readily
●532 and easily became a picture. Map drawings were the most com-
823 mon. Our second journey arose through the sand drawing of the arrangement of the upper Schingú, with which the Suyá geographer illustrated his statements; cf. page 126. "He enumerated all the tribes that are settled on the upper Schingú; in order to be quite clear, he drew the course of the river in the sand with his finger. To our greatest surprise, he drew the Batovy, the only one which he portrayed in this way, and, to be sure, entirely on his own initiative, with corkscrew-like, tortuous course." (Durch Centralbrasilien /Through Central Brazil/, p. 213 /see 1: Steinen, this file, p. 104/.) The Batovy, as we learned to our sorrow, was a true River Meander.

*171 /247/ We saw the same thing among the Kulisehu tribes.
212 The number, sometimes of tribes, sometimes of rapids, was
532 indicated by dashes. Circles were houses; wreaths of circles,
villages, corresponding to the actual arrangement of the circular
[126] houses around the large plaza. All these figures were also drawn with pencil in our book, while the accompanying words were taken down as dictation. A certain individualization, as in the

/247 cont./

171 212 532 case of the Batovy above, with zigzag or serpentine lines, seemed to occur more often, but could not be controlled by us. It is in no way remarkable after what we have heard on page 133 /untranslated/ about the map picture in the head of the Indian. Thus, in Figure 33 we see a pencil drawing of river courses, which a Bakaïrí /Bacairi/ made in Wilhelm's sketchbook; of the names we are only familiar with that of the Kuluëne the main source river; paranayubá is Tupí = yellow river. Moreover, in order to symbolize villages lying along brooks, zigzag lines were drawn,

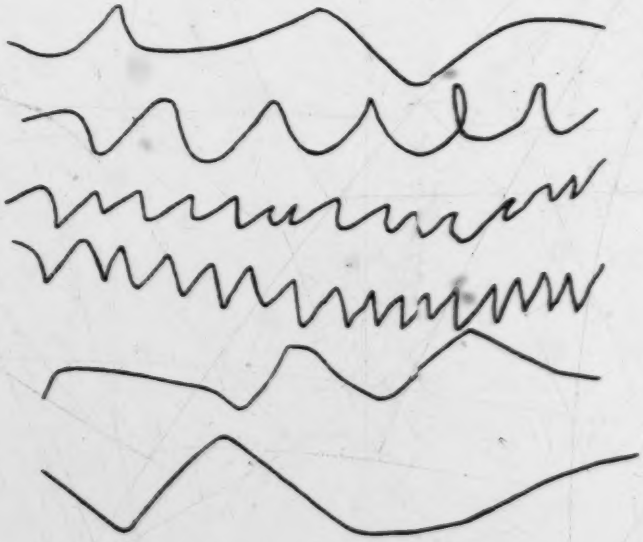


Fig. 33. Pencil drawing of the rivers. (2/3 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration./) From top to bottom: kuluéne, kanákayutuí, auiná, aúiýa, paranayubá, pareyutó.

along each of which extended a row of circles. They liked best to draw all over the page. One sheet covered with short parallel lines was devoted to the river rapids. Other statements were made between times in conversation; for example, the various words with which different tribes name "water" or "beijú" were enumerated.

/247 cont./

*171 212 ●532 Among the Nahuquá, circles on the ground indicated the place where pikí fruits, which are as round as apples, had fallen unripe from the tree and were buried.

[825] One day on the return trip our canoe passed a sandy beach which our Indian companions had already passed before us; there, to our /248/ surprise, we saw two fish drawn in the sand, which Antonio said were matrinchams. We stopped, fished, and actually caught matrinchams! It was just as though the word had been

Fig. 34.
Sand drawing of a matrincham.

Fig. 35.
Sand drawing of a ray and paku.

Fig. 36.
Mehinakú sand-drawing. (1 130 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

written there and an invitation to try his luck there too had been handed to Antonio quite intentionally. Another case remains more obscure to me than this instructive example. Almost exactly in the middle of the path between the harbor and the village of the Mehinaku /Mehinacu/ I found a ray and a pakú fish drawn in the sand. The narrow forest path widened at this spot into a small

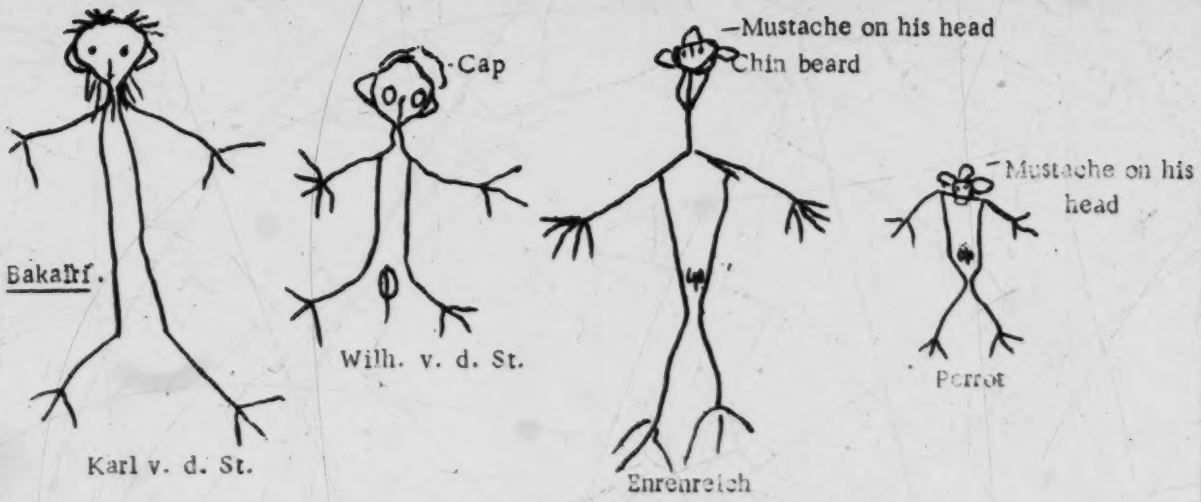
B /248 cont./
*171 circular area. My companions, two Bakaïrí, immediately sat
212 down to rest. I do not know whether a weary wanderer before us
532 who stopped there on his way home from the river so neatly drew the two animals purely for diversion, or because he had just dealt with rays and pakũs, and, frankly, I find it quite immaterial whether the one or the other was the case.

Even more inexplicable as to its exact meaning was the circular figure drawn in the sand, which is shown in Figure 36 and which was found under a beautiful tree approximately half a kilometer from the Mehinakũ village. It was called aturuá
B and was four and a half meters in diameter. When we left the
[533] village accompanied by several men, they made a round inside the circle on either side up to very near the network and sang ka ā ā...; there were also numerous traces of former rounds. Since the men wanted to turn back at this point and spoke of the women, there was probably some reference to the arrival or departure of guests here on the edge of the forest or a quarter of an hour from home. The network of the drawing was turned toward the village. The two curves occur similarly as tattoo patterns and on the outside on the bottom of the large pots of the Mehinakũ (cf. Plate 15 /see p. 253/). I had copied the figure in my journal a few days before my cousin saw it; there, in place of the small central circle with the two supports, two circles are represented touching each other, the lower one being slightly larger and going over into the network; one might imagine head and body.

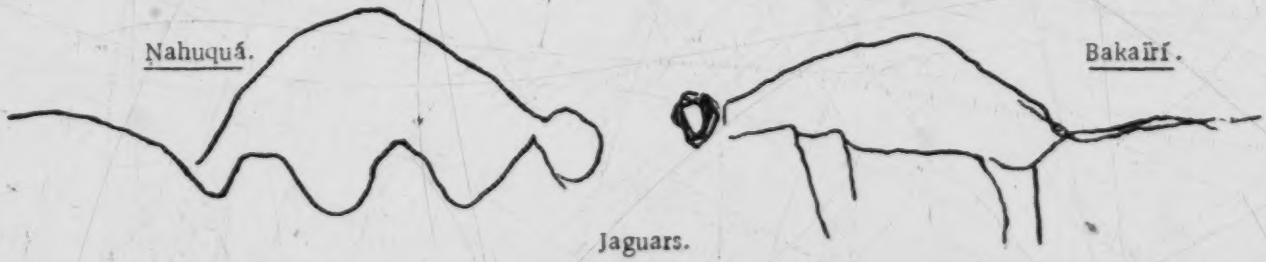
Bo
171 The Bororó, whom I am including here, contributed not only
532 purely explanatory, but even semi-artistic pictures in the sand, which we /Plates XVI-XIX appear here/ /249/ had no opportunity to see on the Schingú. In the evening in the moonlight they took special pleasure in drawing hunting animals and hunting scenes in the sand for us. I say "scenes," for their amateurishness did not by any means shrink from a difficult composition. Nor were they content to draw in outlines; with their hands they shoveled the surface sand out of the outline of the animal being represented and filled this depression, shaped, for example, like a jaguar or a tapir, with grayish-white ashes; thus they made the body with its

[Text Continues on P. 269]

2: Stolpen--265 Ep-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7 Plate XVI



Group picture of the members of the expedition, the size corresponding to the presumed rank.



Original drawings from the Kulisehu. I.
2/3 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.

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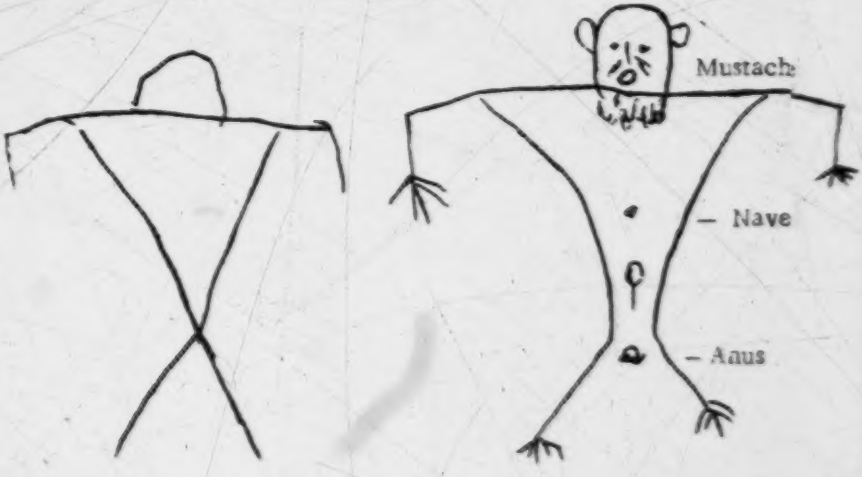
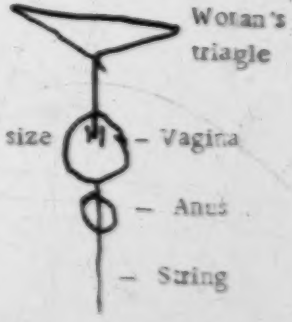
Nahuquá.



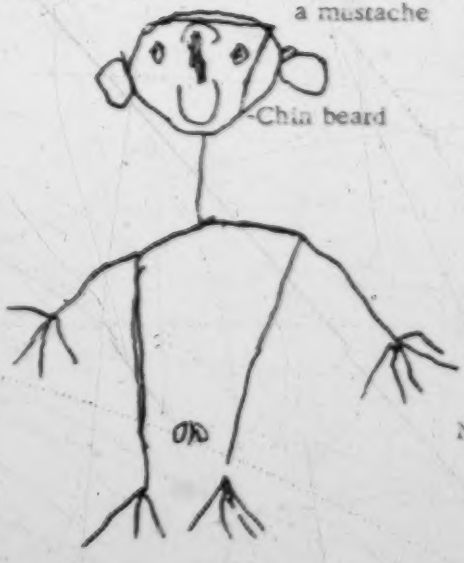
Karl v. d. St.

Bakairí.



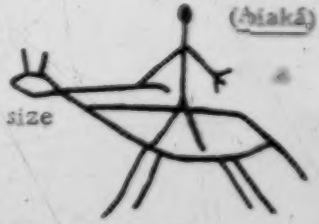
Bakairí.

Cap, under it a mustache



Karl v. d. St.

(Aiaká)



Arm tattooing:
Man on a horse.

Original drawings from the Kulisehu.

II. 2/3 nat. size /all references to size are given for the illustrations a
they appeared in the original source/.

BO 171 532 /249 cont./
extremities look like a shimmering whitish painting. The eye and the spotted markings of the skin were indicated with dark sand. Since the figures were at least life-sized, they gave a surprisingly lifelike impression in the evening twilight; it looked as though huge, shimmering and glistening skins were spread out on the ground.

B * 171 • 532 BO 171 532 Pencil drawings. Even in 1884 we let the Suyá draw with pencil in our notebooks. They themselves were amused by it; they were not awkward, and only at first did they superfluously hold the pencil point into the flame, being accustomed, for their part, to drawing with resin-saturated sticks. They drew rhombus-shaped designs, similar to those on their gourd bowls, which at that time I dismissed with the label "geometric figures." This time we had them draw a series of persons and objects which turned out to be extremely instructive. On the four plates, 16-19 /see pp. 265-268/, these artistic productions, which could still be considerably improved, have been reproduced with painful accuracy; there are portraits of the members of the expedition, especially of me, and furthermore two jaguars and a woman's triangle with the accompanying topography done by Kulisehu Indians, as well as a soldier, a woman, a pipe, a whizzer stick, two jaguars, a tapir pursued by a dog, a monkey, a hummingbird, and three turtles by the Bororó. The animal pictures of the Bororó, like the sand drawings covered with ashes, are filled with black inside the outline and show that these artists already had higher aspirations, although in their sparse ornamentation they did not achieve more than is shown by the whizzer stick.

B BO [126] At first the pencil drawings vividly remind one of the pictures in the copybook of little Moritz. In fact, in the interesting little book by Corrado Ricci, L'arte dei bambini /The Art of Children/, Bologna, 1887, which reports on studies of many children's drawings, there are many correspondences, and more than the author himself assumes when he considers the drawings of primitive peoples. Children describe a human being, instead of reproducing him artistically, "just as they would describe him with words." In their first attempts they are satisfied with the most

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*171 /250 cont./
592 On plate I from the Kuliseh[u], four members of the expedition are standing side by side, a picture from the third Bakaïrí village. In it I am recognizable as the tallest and the one with the longest beard, the second one, my cousin, is characterized by his jaunty little cap, the third is Ehrenreich with a shorter full beard and next to me in body size; the fourth, quite small and delicate, is Lieutenant Perrot to whom a lower rank was imputed because he did not take part in the investigations. Here, as well as with most of the drawings, I performed the test of showing them afterwards to other Indians with the question, who might that be? They identified the persons correctly, hopefully not because of the
B0 resemblance, but according to the outstanding characteristics.
171 Actually the turtles and the tapir of the Bororó (Bororó II) are
592 quite satisfactory, even for our requirements, whereas the pursuing dog was probably recognizable only because he was the four-legged animal running behind the tapir, which could not be a second tapir because of the tail and the absence of a trunk. Inference per exclusionem must often help out.

B
*171 /251/ The two likenesses of me done by a Nahuquá (Kuliseh[u] II) are interesting.[2] Strangely enough, the man first drew a horizontal line containing the unbroken shoulder line and the upper
592 arms, put a sort of semicircle on this, two diagonal crossed lines underneath, and handed this worthless picture back to me as finished. I protested, pointing out to him that I was provided with eyes, ears, etc., in the normal fashion, and demanded an entirely new, revised edition, which he, looking me over attentively, then made. He now went to the other extreme and drew, not only more than he saw, but more than he could have seen.

B0 In similar contrast are the two upper pictures on the Bororó
191 plate I, drawn by two different people: on the right I was born
592 without arms and feet; on the left I appear most lovingly depicted and equipped. Here, besides all my limbs, including -- as likewise in the case of the Indian woman on Bororó II -- knobby joints, I have: cap, pipe, notebook, belt, and shoes. In the same manner, the jolly little fellow below that, my cousin, was

[1] [See p. 265 -- Analyst]
[2] [See p. 266 -- Analyst]

/251 cont./

given cap, pipe, and the fine hunting knife. Children, to whom smoking as such seems strange, would have thick smoke coming out of the pipe, but the Indians are interested only in the apparatus. In the corner on the right, the Brazilian soldier was given a uniform with three buttons, that is to say, only the coat, from which emerge the usual lines for arms without sleeves. The armless figure above it is the only one where an attempt was made to do justice to our trousers, even at the expense of the feet.

The chief attribute of the men, especially in the externally more meagerly equipped portraits on Kulisehu I and II, is the one conferred on them by nature. Here we have the child's standpoint altogether, namely, that it does not matter to the sketcher whether he sees with his eyes what he feels duty-bound to indicate because he knows it is there. For the Indian who goes unclothed, this is the characteristic feature and so he shows it: he even adds it where he expressly draws the clothing, cf. the soldier. Thus, the navel is also often taken into consideration. Indeed, the Nahuquá from whom I demanded completeness (Kulisehu II) did not want to forget even the anus.

The spatial arrangement is not quite a secondary to the Indians as it is to the youngest children, but strange things are done with it. The fact that the pipe (Bororó I) is put next to the mouth does not mean anything when in the same picture one sees the mustache above the eyes. I would have declared it to be a pair of joined eyebrows, what Goethe calls Bärel, but I was emphatically informed that the line represents the mustache. The same is true of the small central figure below it. And the Bakairí do the same thing with the unfamiliar mustache. On the Kulisehu plate II, lower left, we see the mustache below the cap, which is carelessly cut off from the roundness of the head by a cross line, and the chin beard, separated from it by a large nose, /252/ is kept entirely inside the face. This head is precisely my map of Africa, with the lakes imperturbably put north or south of the Congo and the Nile sources; out of all proportion, the dreadful line of the neck looks like my Isthmus of Suez, and the

2: Steinen--273 E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7
Bororo SP8

/252 cont./

B 171 B0 532

enormous ear flaps, like my Island of Zanzibar. And after I heard from a high-ranking German official that Brazil and Rio de Janeiro are located on the west side of the continent, on the Pacific Ocean, I am perfectly content to have the Bakairí, cf. Kulisehu plate I, put the mustaches of Herren Ehrenreich and Perrot on top of their heads. In these two instances the mustache was put in afterwards. The Indians themselves pluck out all the beard hair, and no matter where the beard hair is located, they differentiate hanging and transverse beard-hair according to their first impression, without giving a more accurate account; they reproduce the former, if they do not draw the hairs separately in great numbers (cf. Bororó I and the Nahuquá drawing, Kulisehu II), by a curved line open at the top, the latter by a curved line open at the bottom. They concern themselves with the "where" only for the grossest topography: the beard is indeed connected with the head and face, and the only thing that matters to them is to show the feature itself. If they take it into their heads to draw the anus, they put it, too, in front, although in this case they must know from experience, which they lack in the case of the beard, that it belongs elsewhere.

B0 532

What is missing, what is there, it all depends on interest. The head, the beard, the sexualia are drawn with a will -- let the rest appear wherever it may or be absent altogether. Is not the greatest master of portraiture and the most gifted characterizer of physiognomy accused of neglecting the hands? Opposites attract, Franz Lenbach and the Kulisehu Indians are contemporaries. If the latter or the Bororó take pencil in hand, they give a more or less complete account: their enumeration of the body parts, and whatever interests them, is emphasized, anything that leaves them indifferent at the moment is treated negligently or left out. In the case of animals, the outlines are important, not one of those drawn for us had eyes, with the exception of the fish drawn in the sand, cf. Figs. 34 and 35 /see p. 262/: in the latter case they are probably more likely to come to it because the head, set off only by the gill arch, does not seem sufficiently characterized. The Nahuquá, Kulisehu I, gives the jaguar a lurking position with

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a huge arched back and the long tail, the extremities form a wavy line; the picture was always recognized by others without difficulty as a jaguar. When for all the Bororó animals the faces are simply filled in black, one might attribute this to the drawing style of the sketchers and point out that the rest of the body is treated in the same way, but even the Bakaïrí on the Kulisehu plate I scribbles over the face of his jaguar. The Indian woman, Bororó II, who, of all the figures, shows the best proportions, has a completely scribbled /253/ head. Above the fine beard covering the torso of the center figure at the bottom, Bororo I, eyes, nose, and ears have been forgotten, the legs are stunted into beetle pincers. In none of the five Bakaïrí portraits has the mouth been drawn; none lacks the nose, which the Bakaïrí pierces. On the other hand, for the Bororó, who pierces the lower lip, it cannot happen that he would omit the mouth, whereas he forgot the nose twice.

BO
[304]

The profile position, so popular in the art of children, is absent in the Indian drawings of human beings and invariable in the case of four-legged animals. The former is to be regretted, since there can be no comparison with the cases where children give the profile two eyes and then, when they remember that the nose comes between the eyes, sometimes two noses as well, and furthermore where they attach double arms on the exposed side, since two must, of course, be shown, and so forth. It is to be hoped that these efforts of a childlike mind would by this time be impossible for the Indians. Nevertheless, among the sand drawings, we have to show an example that corresponds exactly to childlike art. The matrincham (Fig. 34 /see p. 263/) has two eyes next to the gill arch; the pakú (Fig. 35 /see p. 263/) in profile is likewise drawn with two eyes. That these are profile positions is shown in the case of the matrincham by the indication of the side line, the gill arch (exactly as in the case of the wooden fish), the fin position, and, finally, as also in the case of the pakú, the tail position. In the case of the ray, the two eyes are justified, since the Indian naturally avoids the problem of drawing it from the side.

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*171 ●532 B0 171 532 On the Kulisehu plate II there is a drawing of an arm tattooing which we observed in Cuyabá on a man of the Tupí tribe of the Apiaká /Apiaca/ living on the upper Tapajoz /Tapajós/, and which I add here parenthetically. Here the two legs are on the same side, exactly as in the case of children's drawings of "riders on horseback." The legs of the horse are placed one behind the other, exactly like those of the jaguar, Bororó II. The animal's long ears are handsome.

Why are all human beings drawn en face, all four-footed animals in profile? The reason can only be that in the case of the former the outline was given indifferently as self-evident, and the characterization of the details, to be distributed on two sides or to be judged better in their full extent from the front, was decisive; in the case of the latter, the outline more easily characterized in profile. The monkey on Bororó II, with legs and tail in profile, shows the arms symmetrically, but might have been conceived with the upper part of the body turned forward. The jaguar with the spotted fur was drawn by a man who was obviously aware of the fact that the animal has only two legs on one side: he omitted the legs on the right side.

The proportions are deficient. The pipe and notebook of the principal figure on Bororó were actually in the reverse size-proportions. The artist was in no way disturbed by the fact that the relationship between the torso and the extremities was like that of a lizard propped upright. The disproportion of /254/ the Nahuquá portrait on the Kulisehu plate II is also charming. Whereas the neck often resembles a pole, here, as in the case of Perrot, Kulisehu I, the shoulder line runs across the mouth region. It is five times as wide as the width of the hips, which, in the first version next to it, shrinks to a point. The legs always come out worst of all. In the most extreme deformity, Kulisehu II, bottom left, they are absent, to judge from the position of the sexualia, and the toes are attached to the torso. If only this one portrait was presented, one might explain the long lines on the sides as legs originating at shoulder height, but, strangely enough, in all the Kulisehu portraits, the torso is not closed off at the

C: Steinen--276 E, D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Sacazi SP7
Beroso SP8

bottom, indeed not even the head in my portrait and Wilhelm's, Kulischu I! Only the Nahuquá treat the body as a triangle, at least in his first version. The lateral contours of the torso veer out at an angle without converging -- in the case of Wilhelm, Kulischu I, almost horizontally -- and after extending a short distance, without knee, without foot, are finished off on either side with a little line, and these three-toed chicken legs are then human legs, my legs. "You resemble the spirit you comprehend, not me!" /Translator's note: this is a quotation from Faust./ Besides being short, the legs are usually also unequal, even where the torso is closed off, cf. jolly Wilhelm, Beroró I.

The number of fingers and toes deserves special attention. If one of us who is a hunter should sketch a stag's head, he will be careful to provide it with antlers of a particular shape, whatever he happens to have in his mind's eye. Another person, however, will pay scarcely any attention to whether there are more or fewer prongs, not even if he is superficially copying an original before him, he will be content if he has put on the head a number of prongs in a very questionable arrangement of branches. The only thing is, it will not satisfy his idea of stag antlers to draw two forks, he will put down at least three prongs each. Similarly, if I make a schematic drawing of a little fir tree, my minimum will be three pairs of symmetrical diagonal lines on a vertical line, the whole finished off at the bottom with a horizontal line; two pairs would indeed make a little tree, but not a little fir tree. Thus, even without counting, I will supply a minimum of components, in accordance with my inner perception. Our children, who are drilled early in the five of the fingers, will take it into account even in drawings which otherwise contain the grossest sins, and even before they think of reproducing the hand, they will correctly draw five fingers. In the case of the drawings of primitive peoples, we encounter an uncertainty about the number of fingers, and especially three fingers, with such regularity that we must recognize a law here, as in the case of the stag antlers and the fir tree. They undoubtedly did not count 1, 2, 3, and the only thing that can be at the basis of it is that

/254 cont./

they feel impelled to put in more than two lines, in order to define their vague inner conception at least to the extent that a bifurcation does not result.

/255/ If we consider the five Bakairí portraits, we have, if we put the number of fingers in the numerator and the number of toes in the denominator, the following relationships: $\frac{3}{3}\ \frac{3}{3}$, $\frac{5}{3}\ \frac{3}{3}$, $\frac{5}{3}\ \frac{5}{3}$, $\frac{3}{3}\ \frac{3}{3}$ (Kulisehu I) and $\frac{4}{3}\ \frac{5}{4}$ (Kulisehu II). I had them show me on my hand which fingers they had drawn; they took hold of my thumb, little finger, and middle finger and pointed to the corresponding lines in such a way that the little finger was the one in the center of the three which, in my portrait, happened to be the longest in the group of four. Ehrenreich is provided with two five-fingered arms, Wilhelm at least with one such arm. The lower extremities have three toes, with the exception of my portrait, Kulisehu II, where four are present on one side. On the same plate, the Nahuquá, after his first effort had been criticized, drew the correct number of fingers in the second, not from memory, to be sure, but with careful contemplation of the insulted original.

Among the Bororó we find on plate I, aside from the armless portrait of me, Wilhelm with five fingers on each arm, the soldier with three on each arm, and similarly on plate II the Indian woman with three fingers. As for the rest, there is great progress to be seen here. Not only elbows and knee-joints appear in the form of thick knots, but also hands and feet. In the classic picture showing me with pipe and notebook, touching care has been devoted to the left thumb, which has been joined to the hand in a thick mass; on the right hand we note, to our surprise, seven fingers, but find a perfect explanation in the fact that the two extra fingers must grasp the little book; the legs are standing on shoes, as are Wilhelm's below. The soldier has been planted in the ground, with two lines for legs. The center figure next to him has most peculiar hands and feet, but at least it has some; they are extraordinarily reminiscent of the blood-sucking ticks. One also notes here a tendency to give the

/255 cont./

BO 171 532 extremities a second dimension. The feet of the Indian woman, Bororó II, an amusing contrast to the absent hands, are drawn in excellent outline and in good horizontal position; one might take them for shoes if three toes, not unlike short hairs, were not planted in them.

Of the animal pictures, only among the Bororó do the tapir and monkey have jointed feet. The jaguar legs end in round knobs -- cat paws. The tail is always featured; only in the case of the spotted jaguar may one reasonably wonder about the bushy stump. In the case of the flying hummingbird, whose legs are missing and indeed may be missing, we see a long and divided tail, such as more commonly occurs for this species.

B 171 532 Bark drawings. Rather seldom, except among the Nahuquá, where they were numerous, were human figures found carved in trees, that is to say, incised in outline or with the surface peeled out of the bark, along the forest path leading from the river to the village. They were, as far as /256/ /Figs. 37 and 38 appear here/ I remember, exclusively men in 1887. In 1884, however, we found a male figure above a female one in front of the first Batovy village of the Bakaïrí and a female figure in front of the second one, "with roguish utilization of a depression present in the bark." In the accompanying Bark figure of the Bakaïrí /see p. 279/, a great advance has been made by means of the surface cutting in comparison with the line drawings. Where the fingers were clearly worked out, they corresponded exactly to the three of the pencil drawings; the toes, on the other hand, were never treated more accurately. The legs ran down shapelessly, like stockings. We were particularly struck by the tree figure along the forest path of the Nahuquá: they had formations resembling donkey ears, but somewhat longer, on either side of the head, which represented ear feathers. There was also one or another animal figure. If I add to this the fact that there were human figures carved on the huge hollow drum-tree lying in front of the festival hut of the third Bakaïrí village, there follows the noteworthy fact that the use of the human figure in the art of drawing was present only on trees. The pencil drawings were done at my request.

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Fig. 37. Bakaïrí bark-figure.

Among the Auetö we saw animal figures in the interior of the "artists' hut," scratched and blackened on the posts.[1] A They are all long and usually narrow figures, conforming to the posts. The first seems to be a snake with its mouth wide open; it was called nanyetá. We see an ordinary snake in the last figure, mói of the Auetö and Kamayurá /Camayura/, agáu of the Bakaïrí, and tá of the potter tribes. Moreover, in the first figure of the second row we have a /Plates XX and XXI appear here/ /257/ lizard, called tetú by the Auetö, teiú by the Tupí, and Teius by the zoologist. The last figure in the first row, however, in spite of its twists, represents a paku fish. It seems even stranger to us to have the natives say that the second figure, not unlike a beetle rubbing its legs together, signifies a "small turtle," [illegible], while the [illegible] is related like the tail of the paku fish. The animal next to the little turtle, a four-footed one, was called kamayú by the Auetö and Kamayurá. In view of this agreement, the word may be regarded as a

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Fig. 38. Nahuquá bark-figures.

a[1] [see P. 282--Analyst]

[TEXT continues on P. 282]

B /262 cont./
*1711 Kustenaú /Custenau/, kulupêi, Waurá warjái (French j), Yaulapiti
531 marirítyi, Auetö pirapêvit, Kamayurá tapaká, Trumaí pakí.
825 Everywhere the design has the name of the fish.

In Figure 43 /see p. 288/ the first and second designs were drawn in pencil by the Bakaïrí, the third by a Nahuquá. The noble Nahuquá, exactly as in my portrait on Plate 17, made it very easy for himself by being contented with the simplest outline imaginable, but he is alone in this negligent originality. The Nahuquá apply the design not only for the mereschu fish irínko, but also for a related one called íru or íno. A similar situation probably accounts for the fact that the Waurá word differs from that of the Mehínakú and the Kustenaú.

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Fig. 44.
Wooden mask with mereschu design. (Gull, Bakaïrí.) (1/6 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

Figure 44, the Bakaïrí wooden mask, shows the mereschu design in typical fashion. It is especially in the painting of the masks that it plays the greatest role. The rhombus corresponds to the body of the fish and the four filled-in corners are head, tail, dorsal fin, and anal fin. The execution of the corners varies in plenitude, so that sometimes an octagon, sometimes a square is left inside. According to our feeling, such a filled-in triangle can only correspond to the head; we can, if necessary, imagine the fins drawn into the rhombus as set on, not drawn in, but for the time being we do not know what to make of the tail, which, as a triangle, ought to have its tip pointed inward and not outward, but we shall find the explanation later.

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The two Auetö masks, Figs. 45 and 46 /see p. 291/, show how the mereschu typically appears as a surface design, one showing the decoration on wood, the other on cloth-like material. The mereschus are framed by lines; they are embedded in a net with
a* [See p 266--Anders F.]

/270 cont./

Otherwise it may be said that all festive adornment, insofar as it offered suitable areas, was without exception painted with designs. This is most noticeable on the masks, for which all tribes greatly preferred the mereschu, as will be shown in the more detailed description of masks.

/271/ I shall briefly enumerate the most characteristic examples of decoration with designs. Among the Bakaïrí we saw a canoe painted with the ray rings and the zigzag of the anaconda. As for oars, apart from the one in Figure 51, we found only one where the snake design was applied or had been preserved. On the drum-tree lying in the third Bakaïrí village, besides the mereschu figures mentioned under bark drawings, there was a long fish-bone drawing painted on, like that of the first plate showing ornamentation /Pl. XX, see p. 280/. In the harbor of the Mehinakú, as I have also mentioned, several trees bore attractive mereschu designs scratched into them.

Among the Bakaïrí it was primarily the gourds that were adorned with designs, the drinking bowls as well as the ball-shaped calabashes and the bottle-shaped ones that were used for storing feathers. /Figs. 52 and 53 appear here./ Sometimes the ulugi design, sometimes the mereschu design covered them net-shaped, corresponding to the slice cut out at the stem of the calabashes, and also directly opposite, there was drawn a circle toward which the designs converged and of which a half-circle remained on the side when the gourds were cut in two for drinking bowls. On one specimen we saw that the mereschus had been pushed over one another in one corner, which gave the impression of plaiting. Occasionally mereschus and bats alternated and were differentiated only by the fact that in the case of the latter the corners were not filled in, like No. 10 on Plate 29. The back-sticks were all closely covered with designs, as described. Cf. page 296.

Among the Nahuquá we were likewise particularly struck by the decorated gourds, except that here principally the rattle-gourds used in the dance were decorated. Their whole painting did not amount to much. Yet it is possible that I underestimate them, because during our first visit they had moved out their household

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four halves, and the hole is surrounded by a fifth central one, as is often the case in the incised designs as well.

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Painting of the pots. On the clay bowls that represent animals, a drawing of the animal is sometimes copied; cf. Figure 87, the lizard pot, in the chapter on ceramic plastic art /see p. 333/. More often the medium-sized and large pots are painted, and, to be sure, on the outer wall, besides on the bottom, with parallel vertical stripes and designs. One sees applied especially often the tattooing lines of the Mehinakú, which go around the shoulder blades on the inside in angles or curves. Plate 15 /see p. 253/ with the large pots shows us this motif on the bottom of the pot in the upper left in an already richer form, in that the curves are not only double, as also occurs in the tattooing itself, /277/ but triple, and are painted with dots between the two inner ones and with serpentine zigzags between the two outer ones. Smaller curves, such as the women have tattooed on their arms, are applied above the center field, which is filled in with color. The pot bottom in the foreground contains a center circle with network and around it the serpentine zigzag as well as a few lines in the direction of the lateral stripes. The drawing is irregular enough to prevent us from seeing it as a "star," which the Indian woman did not have in mind.

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III. Plastic Representation and Ceramics.

Introduction. Small chain-figures. Straw figures. Loam dolls. Wax figures. Wooden figures (dance birds and fish, mandioca digging-sticks, beijú turners, combs, stools). Pots.

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The art of the Indians in imitating body forms is disproportionately more advanced than that of drawing. From the start, as Ricci also points out with respect to the efforts of children, it has the great advantage that the difficulties of perspective drop away. The parts may be clumsily worked out, but they are in their proper place; it is not necessary to put them in the wrong

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place in order to show them. Just as in drawing, indeed to a greater extent since the number of motifs is far more considerable,

/277 cont./

*191 the animal motif is predominant here. Aside from the fact that
●532 the pots are made to look like gourds, from which they probably
825 arose, it is solely and entirely a matter of imitation of animals.
[535] Only in the dance art is there an equally inexhaustible abundance of motifs which arise from the joy in the hunting life and its observations.

*191 The plastic art, too, still permits one clearly to recognize
532 that it was originally merely descriptive. We must not expect to be able to trace its course back as far as in the case of drawing, the best efforts of which still remain a sort of cartographic enumeration of the characteristic features and preserve these even in the geometric modification, but we have here another indication which is no less clear. In the fashioning of bodily forms the material that is being worked on comes to the fore much more than in the incising of lines. Just as rhyme often furnishes the thought, so does a form already present often furnish the motif. Thus, there is a very striking frugality shown in the characteristic features that are stressed; any small resemblance is sufficient to define the object as a particular creature. On a higher level, the native adorns a utensil with a freely invented motif, and this then runs into geometric stylization exactly like the drawings.

*191 /278/ Small chain-figures. The meager characterization
30 is most striking in the small figures which are kept on the neck
532 chains, mostly those of babies and very small children, between the seed kernels, the shell beads, and the nut beads. The material is wholly unimportant. A piece of the convolution of the
[239] rose-colored snail shell has an edge which runs into irregular projections and indentations: that is a crayfish. The Bakaïrí
[239] cut birds and fish out of the shell of the caramujo branco,
[136] Orthalicus melanostomus. We see a shield-shaped piece, the body, which at the bottom continues into a narrower tail and at the top into a sort of neck piece (Fig. 63). This "neck piece," however, is the head, commonly pierced at the side to receive the string, and seems to be treated quite indifferently. If the tail piece is notched like a fin, we have before us a fish instead of a bird. /Figure 63 appears here./

/278 cont./

¥171 30 ●532 [324] In like manner, small pieces of the greenish, black-speckled stone of the stone axes are: fish if they are flat, or birds if the roller-shaped body flattens out into a tail. Nature is helped along somewhat by grinding. In Figure 64, page 313, the first two chains show pierced stone disks (two to three centimeters in diameter) and stone cylinders (three centimeters long) between the nut-beads, such as are made by the Trumaí and Yaulapiti, in the third, the figures of the Nahuquá are made of clay; in the fourth copied by them out of the transparent, amber-like jatobá resin (Hymenaea); the third chain also contains an amber bead. A bird is strung on the first and fourth chain. The stone bird, with a small knob recognizable as a beak, is designated as a dove. The pear-shaped stones of the darts, in a small size, are also worn on the chains, tied on, not pierced, and, to be sure, we also found them imported among the Mehinakú, who have neither stones nor throwing sticks.

[237] Fig. 63. Bird figure made out of mussel shell. (2/3 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

Similar figures are carved out of nut shells and bones. Among the Mehinakú we acquired a piece of bagadú fish-bone seven centimeters long, a square with bow-shaped flared sides, which represents a quadruped, while a smaller piece represents a ray with the tail and beside it the ventral fins. Unfortunately, I discovered too late that there was always a definite meaning attached to the figures and am therefore unable to say what some of them mean. All guessing is pointless here.

/278 cont./

285 532 Straw figures. Anyone who still feels confident about always being able to interpret the pictures and figures of the Indians I should have liked to have had beside me in the hut of the Bakaïrí which contains the large frieze, not so much because of the painted decorations, as because of a plaited design above the door. When the master of the house had explained the pictures to us, he led us to /279/ this door, as though he wanted to say: "Now here I have another little work of art." There was a plaiting made out of thin, black twigs lying crosswise and yellow straw stretched vertically. One saw two rows of squares between three rods, divided alternately in a diagonal direction from top left to bottom right and from top right to bottom left in such a way that each of them was made up of a black triangle of twigs and a yellow triangle of straw. The Bakaïrí explained these triangles as "swallow feathers," "tárîga yuchúto." The

[191] [301]

Fig. 64. Small chain-figures. (1/2 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

tárîga is a black and yellow swallow,* while the îri is black and white.

[114]

* Erroneously described as half black, half "white" in my book, Die Bakaïrí-Sprache /The Bakaïrí Language/, p. 39.

Apparently the yellow triangles of the design represented the wings. It is by no means a matter of a casual design, for neither its special

B /279 cont./
285 mention, nor the surrounding figures, nor the construction of
532 twigs made this likely. All doubts vanished, however, when the Indian showed us, inside two squares, which were otherwise made up merely of crosswise twigs, several narrow, and in themselves quite meaningless, stretches of plaiting on which was wound a
B little yellow straw, and then explained: "capybara teeth." In
[257] other words, teeth of Hydrachoerus capybara or water hog, the
136 large rodent characterized by huge incisors, the chisel of the
412 natives. One had to admit that the outlines were roughly similar, but no European would have hit upon this correct inter-
B pretation by himself. Finally, we saw in the artists' hut of the
* [271] Auetö a plaited strip which they designated for us as "fish bones." It was the same figure as No. 5, Plate 20 /see p. 280/.

Y I would have referred to these examples earlier, along with
285 the drawings, and not here if they had not been connected with
524 peculiarly plaited figures or dolls which we found among the
532 Nahuquá. Of the two illustrations 65 and 66 /see p. 315/, the one is easily understandable and suitable for a kindergarten, it represents a /280/ toad; the other, however, I, at any rate, would not have interpreted correctly even if I had thought about it for a year. We have to recognize it as a deer! And actually it is quite simple. First I need to start out that it is an animal, then the sharply protruding corner piece /Figs. 65-67 appear here/ to the right must be the head, and thus I have a four-footed animal, whereas I do not pay any attention to the three peaks on the back, since a Nahuquá is not familiar with a dromedary or a camel, to say nothing of an animal with three elevations on its back. It must, moreover, be a type of quadruped for which the tail, since it is missing, is not characteristic. What I see in the way of feet, however, corresponds most closely to the hoofs of the deer. Thus, I come slowly limping along behind the Nahuquá with my conclusions, while the Indian of another tribe, after brief reflection, finds the correct solution by himself.

80 Inasmuch as I considered the Bororó in connection with
285 the drawings, their analogous Froebel toy might be taken up in
524 this connection. The folded piece of palm leaf, Fig. 67 left
532 /see p. 315/ represents a "Bororó woman," that is to say, it is

/280 cont./

nothing more than the pubic band with the bark belt holding it. A "Bororó man" was represented by a palm leaf strip folded in the same way and then only a thread tied around it, the waist cord, which he wears besides his cuff and wore long before the invention of the cuff.

The straw figures of the Bakaïrí dance festivals are a special group. I shall have to discuss them in connection with the masks. They represented animals and were worn on the head. Span-long dolls served as children's toys and were also stuck on a pole in the roof of the festival

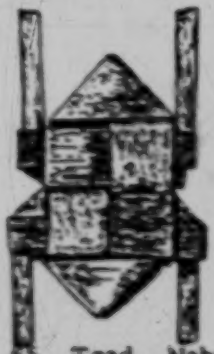

Fig. 65. Toad. Nahuquá. (1/2 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

hut as a sign that a masquerade was being celebrated; they announced to all the world: "Big dance entertainment today."

Fig. 66. Deer. Nahuquá. (1/2 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

Fig. 67. Woman's and man's figure. Bororó. (1/2 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

The two little dolls of Figure 68 /see p. 316/ seem to be very expressively summoning one for the merriment. In 1884 we came across larger straw figures, which were not used as headdresses, in front of the second Bakaïrí village on the Batovy. "Shortly before the exit from the woods we came across a wonderful display of about a dozen animal figures along one side of the path, probably the remains from a festival." (They

/280 cont./

285 were meant to welcome the participants from the neighboring villages.) "They were made of leaves and straw, 532 535 /281/ mostly quadrupeds with long, thin bodies, consisting of practically nothing but spinal column and long legs; the tallest ones reached to our hips. Something that was evidently supposed to be a monkey was climbing up a pole." (Durch Centralbrasilien /Through Central Brazil/, page 168 /see 1: Steinen, this file, p. 50/.

[524] →

Fig. 68. Invitation to the dance. Bakaïrí. (1/6 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

285 532 525 The maize figures, almost exclusively birds, are extremely characteristic of their enjoyment of art; we found the most attractive examples of them in the second Bakaïrí village. There they hung, almost as large as turkeys, on a long string from the vault of the dome, a strange sight for the person entering, who undoubtedly

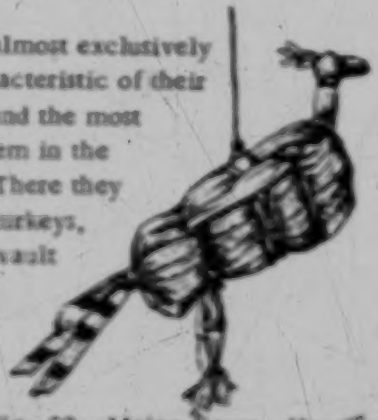

Fig. 69. Maize figure: Harpyia destructor. Bakaïrí. (1/10 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

[251] would think of idols and fetishes. But these fine birds were nothing but lovingly trimmed maize ears which were stored in their natural straw husks. I listed figures of Harpia destructor, a large and a small species of falcon, the snake

/281 cont./

785 532 825 bird, and the jabiru or giant stork. A human-like figure, a doll with a knob on top instead of a head, represented the imoto dancer in his straw garb. Otherwise there were always birds, and, to be sure, large birds. Often a pair of genuine tail feathers were stuck in or a few colored bands painted on the maize straw. The accompanying Harpia destructor (Fig. 69 /see p. 316/) is characterized by its strong beak and its crest, the tail feathers are banded with black; the toes are lovingly made out of twisted straw and where the foot emerges from the feathers of the leg there is a lashing. More impressive was the tujujú stork. it hung with wings outspread! A thick maize ear, as the center section, formed the body, only the stem was not cut off on it, but rather, projecting far out, formed the somewhat thin, but long beak. On either side eleven maize ears in [250] a row were clamped between a couple of twigs, and this beautifully suspended bridge then represented Mycteria americana, the individual parts of which were broken off one by one and roasted. Nothing mysterious, nothing symbolic, only a stork which the Bakaïrí were very willing to roast crispy for the astonished European.

524 532 961 /282/ Loam dolls. A similar unexpected combination of the beautiful and useful is shown by a heavy, red, loam doll, 30 centimeters long, 24 centimeters wide, and seven centimeters thick, Fig. 70 /see p. 318/. Four rounded stumps, which are produced by two lateral and one lower /Fig. 70 appears here/ indentation in the body lump, are the extremities; a clumsy, cube-shaped projection, the head. Two little holes, the eyes; a depression, the mouth sliding sharply downward, and another little hole, the navel. This red loam man is an edible doll for children. It consists of the material which the Bakaïrí say their grandfathers consumed before they were acquainted with mandioca. Today the heavy, fat dough is probably no longer a prized delicacy. The doll is also not very suitable as a plaything because of its weight. I was told that children licked it. We found similar dolls made of whitish, harder, nonedible loam, however, and saw nothing of loam being

2: Steinen--318 E, D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7 Bororo SP8

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/282 cont./ we found similar dolls made of whitish, noneible loam, however, and saw nothing of loam being eaten by the Kulischu Indians, whereas among the Bororó I saw that they absent-mindedly broke off and nibbled little pieces of the wall of the station house in front of which we stood talking.

Fig. 70. Loam doll. Bakairí. (1/6-1/7 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

Among the Bakairí we discovered a small female doll of baked clay, which they attributed to the Auetö, the only one of its kind. Among the Auetö themselves we did not find anything similar. The arms are broken off close to the shoulder, the legs somewhat lower

Fig. 71. Clay doll. Auetö. (3/4 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

in the middle of the shapeless, swollen thighs. /283/ Aside from this elephantiasis, the modeling is not bad at all. The torso especially is praiseworthy, the navel is in the right place, and the back, both in

/283 cont./

#191 924 532 its course with the furrow of the spine as well as where it ends with a somewhat deeply cut division, is free of all schematization. The head reminds one of that of an Eskimo in its round hood, which is the result, first of all, of the absence of a neck, and then of the shallow depression dug out below the hair line for the face and in which the nose was left standing. In the case of the loam man of the Bakaïrí, it can be seen on closer inspection that there was also a depression (but extremely shallow) for the face.

#191 239 532 125 Wax figures. Again, as in the case of maize, merely an artistic way of preserving the material. The black wax was shaped into pretty little animal figures, and, to be sure, most attractively among the Mehinakú, and thus hung up or placed in a basket until needed. Among the Bakaïrí we found a human figure better modeled than the loam dolls. The civilized Indians converted to Christianity have modified their saints out of wax and sell

Fig. 72. Wax figure: peccary. Mehinakú. (1/2 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration)./

Fig. 73. Wax figure: kariio dove. Mehinakú. (1/2 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

them. The plastic wax best revealed what the artists could do. Some animals were very well modeled, for instance, the small peccary or tyuma, 6.5 centimeters long, of Figure 72, Dicotyles torquatus. The eyes are represented by a pair of small plates of shell, the nostrils of the proboscis put in deeply. Of other mammals we also saw the large swamp deer and a howling monkey in the form of wax figures. More common were the hanging

/283 cont./

#171 birds, often painted red. In Illustration 73 /see p. 319/ we see
237 a karijo dove, the figure, 15 centimeters long, with the short
532 wing stumps, turned out very stiff.
525

Wooden figures. In discussing the dance ornaments I shall
537 deal with the carved and painted wooden masks separately. The
535 Bakairí, whose festival finery consisted mostly of straw caps,
525 straw suits, and straw animals worn on the head, carved birds of light wood for their headpieces. In 1884 we brought back from the Batovy a wonderful head-structure (illustrated in Durch Centralbrasilien, page 322 /see 1:Steinen, this file, p. 16/), where seven colorfully painted birds are mounted on three long rods wound with flocks of cotton, /284/ birds which at that time I took to be swallows, but in the meantime have been able to identify as sanyami (Tanagra sayaca Neuw.). Those shown in No. 74 are similar birds, the larger of which represents a falcon, the small one the nimble shore birds massarico (Calidris arenaria), there were many of them in the third Bakairí village on the Kulisehu. The neck is sharply set off from the body, a few lines show the markings of the feathers and a long stalk stuck

Fig. 74. Wooden figures: falcon and massarico. Bakairí. (1/5 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

Fig. 75. Wooden fish of the Batovy Bakairí. (1/7 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

[301]

Fig. 76. Mandioca digger as a back-stick. Bakairí. (1/8 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

through the body on the right and left and with its ends coming together again at the bottom represents the legs.

2: Steinen--321E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7
Waura SP18
Mehinacu

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On the Batovy we found fish (Fig. 75 /see p. 320/) crudely carved out of hard bark and pierced for hanging up, 30-40 centimeters long, flat and wide, with fins or band-like without fins, and the gill cover marked by a curve. Just as in the rhombus drawings of fish one corner is filled in to represent the head. We found similar fish in 1887 among the Nahuquá. Here, however, they are whizzer sticks, which I shall discuss under musical instruments in the chapter "Mask Ornamentation and Dance Ornaments, III" /see pp. 381 - 382/.

B 971 [28]

The mandioca digging-sticks among the Mehinakú showed a carved decoration of great interest. The ordinary digging-stick is a smooth, pointed stick made of hard wood 60-65 centimeters long and of exactly the same shape as the ornamental stick of Fig. 76 /see p. 320/, which is decorated with the meresehu design and plaited round in several places. These pointed sticks take the place of the spade. Now it occurs to imaginative minds /Fig. 76 appears here/ to carve the head and part of the body of the digger wasp, a little animal that also throws up the sand, on the blunt end of the stick. See Fig. 77 /see p. 322/. The first picture of the series shows us this motif in the first stage. We see the constricted body sharply set off and on it the head with an eye of wax on either side (cf. also Fig. 78 /see p. 322/. In the three following pictures the figure is stylized, the last one, a simple point, does not seem to be connected with this development, but it is striking that the /285/ pointed piece is set off on a free edge. Figures 2, 3, and 4 are thus stylized digger wasps; they would be at little recognizable as such as are the horses' heads on many a gable of the farmhouses in Pomerania, if one /Fig. 77 appears here/ did not know their story, and without it they would certainly be regarded as purely ornamental. In our case the motif is truly motivated, the Indians laughingly demonstrated for me how they themselves tear up the ground, just as the /Fig. 78 appears here/ digger wasp burrows and throws up the sand. The Mehinakú called it kukúi, the Bakairí koingkoing.

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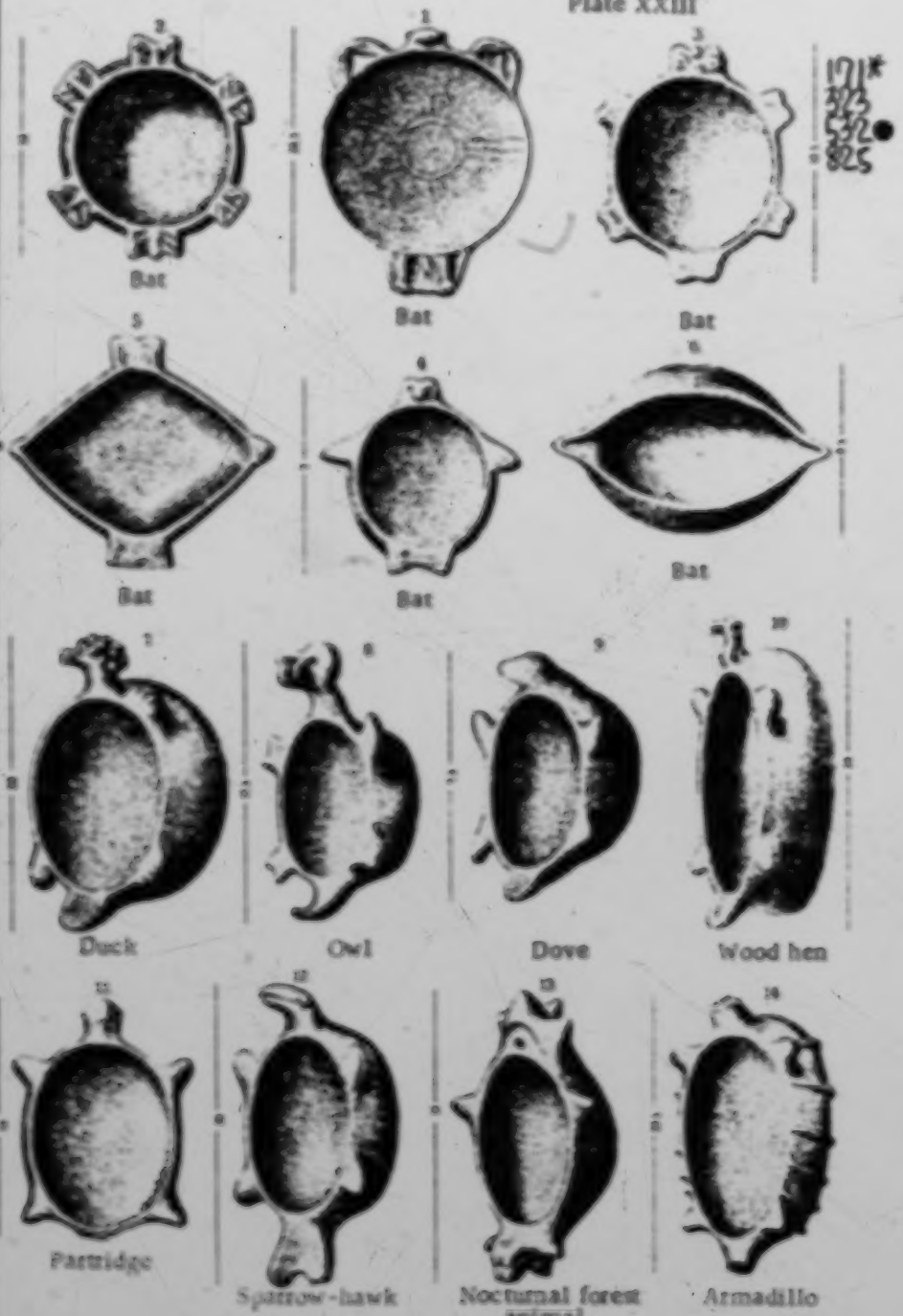
2. Steinen--328 E D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

Plate XXIII



Pots from the Kulisehu. Measurements in centimeters.

2: Steinen--329 E, D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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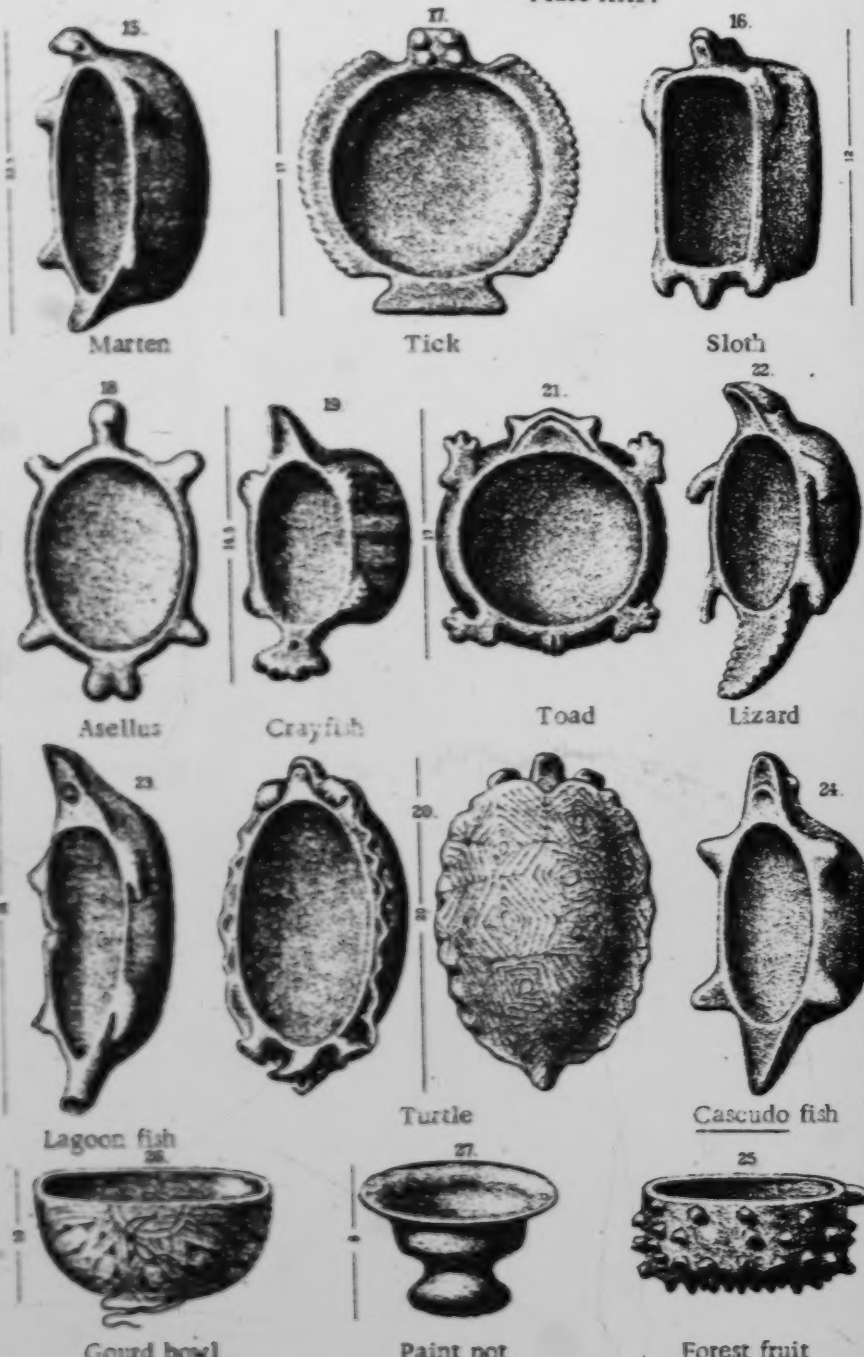
Plate XXIV



Pots from the Kulisehu. Measurements in centimeters.

/289 cont./

*171 323 acquaintance we made in the Auetö harbor. No. 27, with the "goblet shape," indented along the edge on the outside, is regarded as a paint pot of the Waurá. Beaker and goblet have not yet penetrated to our Indians; this form, too, has a gourd-bowl motif, which, however, is less to be seen than to be heard. The flat sphere at the bottom is not put on, say, simply for an easier grip, but represents precisely the essential part of the plastic production, a rattle gourd. It harbors on the inside a few small stones or seeds which give off a rather weak rattling sound if one shakes the "goblet."

*171 323 532 825 While these three pots have a free edge, all the others are characterized by a greater or lesser number of projections. These projections, modeled in many different ways, characterize the animal portrayed. Almost everywhere the roundness of the gourd is retained; indeed, it is obvious that this has given direction to the artistic idea. Just as the ordinary, merely crescent-shaped disks of the beijú turners represent the animal body as soon as a handle carved as head and neck is added, so the rounded bowl becomes the animal body when head and limbs are added with the edge-projections. This, then, is a clear and unequivocal history of development. Once the new artistic element has been achieved, it develops with independent freedom, presses on to a variety of forms, and, in the most popular and oft-repeated forms, rapidly deteriorates to stylization.

The most common, by far the most common form of the pot is the one with the bat motif. Apparently Indian sensibility is not guided by our refined considerations of taste. Our ladies would not be agreeably affected if they were obliged to eat out of bats, toads, and ticks; we men, however, can wash our hands in innocence, for it is the women who had these indelicate notions. To do them justice, I am assuming that /290/ they were influenced in their realism by the color and form of the original animals and were led to choose those whose imitation would turn out most favorably for pots. The bat, besides its roundish body, is exactly the color of the clay, and the toad (No. 21), which is likewise not infrequent, turned out excellently in the

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circular, bellied pot. Armadillos and turtles are, indeed, nothing but walking pot-shells and were therefore deemed worthy of the imitation of their shells in the curvature of the pots. The lizard swinging from the hammock by its tied tail, presents itself, as a good domestic animal, for friendly consideration. Finally, there were also several types of caymans and cascudo fish, both armored. The other motifs are unique.

We found and added to our collection the following animals in imitations.

Mammals: Two species of bats (1-6), deer, page 333, squirrel, irara marten (Galictis barbara) (15), sloth (16), little anteater or Tamanduá mirim (Myrmecophaga tetradactyla), armadillo, a small tatú /tatou/ (14), as well as tatú canastra, or giant armadillo (Dasypus gigas), and finally, a nocturnal forest animal that was said to be similar to an armadillo (13).

Birds: White sparrow-hawk (Buteo pterocles) (12), coruja owl (8), dove (9), makuko wood hen (Trachypelmus brasiliensis) (10), inyambú partridge (11), duck (7), and an unidentified flying bird.

Creeping and amphibious animals: trakajá river turtle (Emys tracaxa) (20), kágado turtle (Emys depressa), jabutí forest turtle (Testudo tabulata), cayman, lizard (22), sinimbú or chameleon (Anolis), toad (21).

Fish: cascudo, akará, or armored sheatfish (24), lagoon fish (23), ray.

Insects and lower animals: karapato or tick (Ixodes) (17), crayfish (19), asellus (18).

The most beautiful specimen, the trakajá turtle, No. 20, is really a work of art, not so much because the drawing of the shell is so carefully incised, but because of the extremely felicitous modeling of head, tail, and limbs. The front feet in particular are bent over so pliantly and naturally that one marvels at the talent for form and the gift of observation of the unknown Mehinakú woman. I must say, in her honor, that she copies nature more faithfully than the Berlin sketcher and lithographer did her reproduction.

2: Steinen--332 E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

/290 cont./

In the case of some animals one may speak of a direct copy hollowed out rather than of a pot with anatomical structure. For example, the turtle 20, the toad 21, the bat 1, the lizard 22, on which, in the drawing of my cousin, Figure 87 /see p. 333/, the body painting is still visible. The bat is particularly remarkable because of the outspread wing membrane from which the rear extremities are carefully worked out. In /291/ No. 2 the projections are simply incised, the head with the eyes has a couple of lines for the eyes, the other projections have been given two pairs of strokes for the lines of the wing membranes. These strokes may be left out, and one sees merely a six-projection pot and is surprised to hear it called "bat" regularly and among the most diverse tribes. In Nos. 3 and 4 the facial parts are even more precisely portrayed, in No. 3 the tail is broader than the extremity-projections, in No. 4 the legs and the tail are joined inside the wing membrane, as in /Fig. 87 appears here/ No. 1, and not further indicated. Nos. 5 and 6, too, were bats, but it was said they were a different, smaller species than the round six-projection pots. We are immediately reminded of the bat rhombuses drawn by the Bakaïrí, Plate 20 /see p. 280/.

In a more careful examination of the pots one will be able to understand, at least to a certain extent, the characteristic feature that differentiates most of them. At least one of the three elements, head, limbs, or tail, is always provided with an identifying "special mark." /Fig. 88 appears here./ In connection with this, the inference per exclusionem is never to be forgotten.

No. 15, the marten-like Galictis, is probably the most difficult to recognize. The snout is more pointed in the original. The sloth, No. 16, is identified by the shape of the head and the position of the four legs at the corners. But it was obviously not easy with the four-footed mammals. For example, the only exception arose among them: a deer (6.5 X 13.5 centimeters in diameter) was set on its legs and the hollow opened in the back. Figure 88 /see p. 333/. The shape of the head, the tail, and the stance permitted even foreign Indians to identify the little pot

/291 cont./

† 171 323 532 525 immediately as a dog. The happy thought, which could lead the portrayal into entirely new directions, was not encountered by us in any other example.

In the case of the birds, wing and leg stumps are not differentiated; the feathers are incised in the tail, cf. 7 and 12, that of the sparrow-hawk is /292/ indented. The head of the drake, 7, and of the owl, 8, are well characterized;

Fig. 87. Lizard pot. (1/3 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

in the case of the dove, 9, there is the same head shape as on the little figures of the neck stones; the sparrow-hawk, 12, has a powerful beak, and a nicely formed little head is set on

Fig. 88. Deer pot. (2/5 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

the makuku, 10. In the case of the indistinct partridge, 11, the tail is broken off.

Fish were extremely rare. No. 23 has a long tail, the end of which was already broken off when we acquired the pot, but on the journey it lost still another piece. The head shapes of 23 and 24 are similar to the lizard, but they have a peculiar mouth.

/232 cont./

The tick, 17, has four knobs on its head, which are probably supposed to represent maxillary feelers and mouth parts. The notched edge is most amusing. It reproduces not at all badly the general impression of the creeping and crawling of the eight crooked legs, which, in the case of animals that have sucked their fill, form a wreath at the top of the sac. I do not know whether the isopod, 18, bears up under zoological scrutiny. It is cyclem, like the Asellus, one of which it is supposed to represent, as far as I understood my informants. In No. 19, the crayfish, we note richly scalloped extremities and a tail fin. For eyes it has a pair of small knobs in which is pierced a fine little hole.

Fig. 89. Suyá toad-pot. (1/3 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

In conclusion I am adding a pot (diameter 10 x 15 centimeters) with a human representation! It is too much to demand, however, that anyone should suspect anything human about it. The woman artist who brought it to us shook with laughter over her creation. She wanted to make a toad-pot and had already copied the tail and leg projections, as well as the head with the bulging eyes of toad form. Then, when she was modeling the wide mouth and it happened to turn out open instead of closed, she noticed the similarity with the much-ridiculed lip disk of the despised Suyá, which stands out in front of the teeth of these Indians like a movable saucer. She laughed about it, set the stiff mouth flap neatly perpendicular to the toad face, and called the pot a "Suyá figure." Thus, for once, an ornament of the men was used as a motif by the women, analogous to the uluri motif, which was so popular among the gentlemen artists.

2: Steinen--335 f, D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1896 SPT Bacairi

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IV. Relationship between the Animal Motif and the Technique.

What appears as a joke in the case of the Suyá pot, namely, the influence of the technique on the determination of the motif, makes itself felt on a wider scale as a lawful process. Let us examine once again the list of animals portrayed in pots. It is interesting on account of the animals which are not there. One might say that the same difference is discernible as in the modern motifs of men and women artists on the average, especially in the still lifes: on the one hand, flowers, fruits, butterflies, flies, market fish, and ham, on the other hand, game and herring. For among the animals of the pots, the smaller animals and, with the exception of the ticks, the tamer ones predominate. At any rate, it is noteworthy that, by and large, jaguar, tapir, pig, and the parrots providing the feather ornaments and kept at home are entirely absent. These animals are also missing, however -- again for a special reason to be mentioned later -- in the animal masks of the men's festivals, and it should be further noted that one sees the above-mentioned connection between motif and form of presentation even more clearly from the negative side.

Snakes and monkeys, with their elongated bodies, were entirely unsuitable for the earthenware gourds, whereas the former were excellently adapted to the long bark boards of the frieze or the sword-shaped whizzer stick or the canoe, and the latter to a hut post or a flute. The handle on the half-moon of the beiju tumer could easily be transformed into the neck of a bird or the fore part of a snake, but it did not become, for example, a fish, which simply cannot be combined with the half-moon and a one-sided elongation. On the other hand, the whizzer stick with its long, narrow shape became a fish (cf. Chapter XI under III /see p. 381 /), and the cord could be very conveniently wound up on the tail end; the hole for the cord is not therefore, say, in the eyes on the head end. The drawn and incised fish-body becomes a rhombus, the mereschu design dominates the entire art of drawing, and a Waurá woman even scratches it in the gourd-pot, but it does not occur to anyone to depict a

2: Steinen--336 E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SPT Bacairi 577

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merechu as a pot! Why? The merechu won in the struggle for existence among the incised designs because it was easiest to incise a figure characterized by sharp and readily scratched-out corners. It was easy to make and still retained the likeness. Likewise the uhiri. Occasionally, cf. Pot 5 /see p. 328/, a rhombus-shaped pot was produced, but it belongs in the developmental series of bat forms, while for the fish the more natural oval outline can assert itself here, where other animals also have it, cf. 23 and 24 /see p. 329/.

A law is clearly expressed in this. It is not symbolic subtlety that directs the artistic impulse. Neither in small things nor in large. The woman artist neither shies away from making a toad-pot because the toad is an unappetizing animal, /284/ nor does she choose the bat because this creature also occurs in the mythology of the Indians. In view of the role played by the animal in the mental life of the Indian, animal motifs suggest themselves as a matter of course. The choice, however, may be prompted first of all by the nature or activity of the animal: the shell of the turtle corresponds to the pot, the digger wasp decorates the mandioca digging stick; the agutí with its handsome fur, the comb; the picture of the hissing snake, the whizzer stick; that of the whistling monkey, the flute. Then, however, as soon as artistic activity is practiced with sufficient vigor, the form and size and color of the object also have a decisive effect, so that the animal that is most appropriate for them is chosen for reproduction. The artist need not be aware of this at all. It comes by itself if attempts in another direction turn out unsatisfactorily. This phenomenon manifests itself most of all in the reproduction of birds: we saw only a small bird painted on a back-stick, whereas the plastic birds -- carved, molded out of wax, or in the form of maize-straw dolls -- were extremely numerous. It was easier for the Indians to form characteristically the outlines of the head, beak, and tail, as well as the proportions, in plastic form than in drawing.

2. Steinen--337 6 D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SPT Bacairi SP7

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In conclusion I shall list the animal motifs observed by us and shall add in what form they occur. F means plaited work, M maize bird, S carving, T pots, W wax, Z drawing, incising, or painting.

Mammals: Monkey (macaque) Z, S. (howling monkey) W. Bat (several species) Z, T. Jaguar Z, S. Irara marten T. Squirrel T. Agutí S. Capybara (teeth) F. Porcupine Z. Sloth T. Armadillo (giant armadillo, small species) T. Little anteater T. Swamp deer /Odocoileus dichotomus/ W. Roe deer F, T. Peccary W.

Birds: King vulture (red urubu) S. White urubu S. Harpy M. Falcon, sparrow hawk M, S, T. Owl T. Songbirds S. Swallow F, Z. Dove S, T, W. Partridge T. Wood hen T. Mamarico S. Giant stork M, S. Tujujú stork M, S. Spoonbill S. Snake bird M.

Creeping animals and amphibians: Turtles (wakayá, jabutí, kágado) T, Z. Cayman Z. Iguana (also loam figure) T. Lizards (several species) T, Z. Snake (several species) S, Z. Toad F, T.

Fish: Armored sheatfish Z. Kuomi Z. Kurimatá Z. Lagoon fish T, Z. Maringcham Z. Mereschu Z. Nuki Z. Paká Z. Piava D. Pintado sheatfish Z. Ray (two species) Z, S. Unidentified S, Z. Bones F, Z.

Insects and lower animals: Grasshopper Z. Digger wasp S. Tokandira ant Z. Tick T. Crayfish S, T. Ascilus T.

All kinds of new motifs are added in the masks.

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Chapter XI.

Mask Ornamentation and Dance Ornaments.

Preliminary remarks. I. Masks. Dancing and singing. "Idols"? Feasts and invitations. Participation of the women. Types of mummery. Bakairí dances (makanári) and masks. Nahuquá (fish-net dance). Mehinahú (cayman dance). Auetö (koahílu dance, yakuíkatú dance). Kamayurá (hüvát dance). Trumaí. II. Common origin of the masks and the mereschu design. The

2. Steinen--339 E.D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SPT Bacairi SP7

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I. Masks.

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On the second journey our yield of dance ornaments and, above all, of face-masks was considerably larger than on the first. This is all the more important since the masks, which are, after all, distributed throughout the world in the most diverse forms and for the most diverse purposes, and which play such an important part among the Indians of northern America, have so far been observed only to a relatively slight extent in South America. It seems that they occur in particular in the Amazonas region, but it may only seem so. All the tribes have their dance festivals, all have pantomimes in which animals are portrayed, people adorn themselves with natural ornaments of skins or feathers, imitate the voices and movements, and spontaneously arrive at the characterizing mummery which makes the spectacle more effective. The technical skill of the mummery and its characterization certainly differs, but probably all hunting peoples reached the level which we come across among the Schingú tribes, again with an entirely different development of mimic devices. We are so poorly informed about this only because the opportunities to investigate living tribes in an undisturbed state are rare and can be only superficially exploited during a fleeting visit. Our own journey is the best example. In one region where [126] in 1884 we came across strange headgear with animal imitations of straw, etc., but only two wooden dove-masks, in 1887 we brought back a handsome collection of face masks which, now in the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde, permit an interesting comparison with the grotesque animal masks of the Tekuna /Tucuna/ from the upper Amazon River that are present there. Ehrenreich, too, brought back from the Karayá /Caraja/ on the Araguay /Araguaia/ a number of huge dance masks adorned in the most colorful manner with feathers, which in their construction remind one most strikingly of the Duk-duk of the South Sea.

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Not only each tribe, but each village has its own masked dances. The center is always the "flute house." In their character the dances are extraordinarily alike throughout Brazil. Always the running around in a circle and the jerky singing corresponding

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171 to the stamping. It is extremely characteristic that the Bakairí
532 have the same word for "dancing" and "singing." "The mean-
536 ing of the songs," says Martius, "is simple: praise of the warlike
[538] and hunting deeds of individuals or hordes, enumeration of cer-
tain animals and remarks about their characteristics. If masks
appear at the festival, most of which represent animals, the
wearers imitate their voices."

171 We did not observe anything that would permit us to con-
123 clude that the masks are in any way regarded as sacred. The
532 pieces plaited out of palm straw in particular were all heedlessly
tossed aside after use. True, the masks were sometimes hidden
from us, but only in the same way that /297/ all portable utensils
and ornaments were hidden from us, out of fear of robbery. Once
the people had gained confidence in us, they surrendered their
masks to us without further ado and made new ones to order.
They were demonstrated for us with joking and laughter, like a
pretty toy.

529 Among the docile Bakairí /Bacairi/ on the Paranatinga and
the Rio Novo the principal festival usually occurred in April. I,
with my civilized conceptions, was pursuing the idea of a feast
of thanksgiving and thought of the possibility that the festival
held at harvest time was somehow being celebrated in praise and
honor of some friendly power regarded as the giver of good things.
I therefore tried to find out from Antonio whether anything like
that could be established. Antonio, however, did not respond to
my suggestion. "We celebrate the festival around harvest time,"
he declared, "because then we have something to celebrate. In
the dry period we must save, in the rainy season everything would
become moldy." Materialistic, but understandable.*

*"Usually a surplus of supplies for the beverages
is the occasion for the festival," says Martius,
"but where European custom has asserted itself
and Christians live next to Indians, a saint's day
will probably be chosen for it."

2: Steinen--344 E,D-5 (1894, 1887-1888)1894 SP7 Bacairi S97

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* 191 535 5. Oval frames on which are stretched netting, cotton plaiting, and cotton weaving. Facial parts of wax pasted on, eyes of cotton flocks, beans, mother-of-pearl. Painted. Bakaïrí, Auetó, Kamayurá, Trumaí.

* 191 * 532 535 6. Wooden masks. Square wooden plates with mighty bulging forehead and nose of human form. Painted on natural markings of the animal, outline of the animal, body parts of the animal (wings, fins), stylized animal designs. Eyes of mussel shell, mouth with fish teeth pasted on with wax; the latter, like the former, again of human shape. Bakaïrí, Nahuquá, Auetó, Kamayurá, and, in the largest development, Mehinakú /Mehinacu/. The Mehinakú had only wooden masks. A transitional form between 5 and 6, without the forehead bulge and oval, among the Auetó.

Fig. 99. Imeo dancer. Bakaïrí.

* 191 527 535 [197] In the masked festivals borrowings from foreign tribes, which are suggested through visits, and local cultivation of special variations are undoubtedly mixed.

Cologne, Düsseldorf, Mainz, and Trier also have, in their carnival societies, different caps, different insignia, different customs /300/ in the meetings, different songs, different slogans, and different motifs for the vehicles of the procession. Here, too, special "ladies' meetings" are announced for the participation of the female sex, and the women rigorously guard

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191 529 535 against appearing in the "flute house" at an inappropriate time, though they may hope to come out again alive, or at most only half dead. Carnival on the Kuliseu is also followed by a period of fasting, for it does not end -- the reason is not one connected with the cult -- before everything that is there has been eaten and drunk insofar as possible. The women have an enormous [242] job satisfying the demands for beijús and drinks; they must pound, [292] boil, and bake incessantly, and this necessity has probably also contributed somewhat to their being kept away from the dancing, so that they could meanwhile carry out their duties.

535 Bakaïrí. On the Rio Novo and Paranatinga the old customs are still observed. "Everybody dances like the wild Bakaïrí," said Antonio, "tudo dansa como Bakaïrí bravo." He described to me the festival held last April, when the people from the Rio Novo had invited those of the Paranatinga. They danced the yatuka dance, the makanari, and the imeo. Yatuka is a fish dance: wooden fish are worn on the head, especially the black pakú and the matrincham; heads of men and women are made of calabashes painted black and white or black and red and surrounded with Bromelia hair.

Makanari is a general term. The Bakaïrí calls almost everything and anything that is part of his dance adornment makanari; he calls specific dances makanari. "bakaïrí makankri zõto," the Bakaïrí is master of the makanari. It is the dance of his tribe. The imeo is a type of makanari, a specific figure. In fact, it seems that the concept of makanari was originally narrower and [532] referred to a specific dance with straw plaiting. Among the docile Bakaïrí there are no wooden masks. Here the principal makanari is the bat dance, and, to be sure, zemímo, the small [533] bat, and aluã, the large bat. Antonio recited the text of the aluã dance* for me, but, in spite of a great deal of trouble, it

535 539 *One man sings: ohuhaaha-ihã yumãa ohũ..... yumarí uvanukã, yumari uvanukã huyanã vitã õõ....yohohohũ. Then another: mauã kãua

/301 cont./

535 of vine characterizes the barbels of the fish. The costume for the other figures of the dance consists of a straw cap with long fiber hangings all around, pulled down over the entire head, and a garment plaited out of buriti leaf strips, which we found on the Batovy evening 1884. Straw caps without a stem belong to the semimo or bat dancer; the imbdo (on the left in Figure 92 /see p. 348/) has on its cap a stem with one or even two knob-like thickenings, the imeo (Figure 92, right) a bundle of knobbed stems. The imodo was also hung up in the hut as a maize doll (cf. page 317). Finally, a cap with five little cane rods arranged like Panpipes plaited into the stem was called enoschibito; this, however, is the name of the wood out of which the flutes are carved. The mask represented a whistling bird which I could not identify. The measurements of this cap are: total length 98 centimeters, top piece 11.5 centimeters, actual cap 22.5 centimeters, hangings 52 centimeters.

[532]

Fig. 91. Sheatfish mask. Bakaïrí. (1/16 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

The buriti doublet of the imeo dance, with fringed sleeves and trousers, Fig. 92, is very remarkable. We also found separate sleeves, which were worn in connection with the loose straw hangings. One steps into the suit at the neck; the width there is one and a quarter meters and a string is inserted for drawing it together. The Bakaïrí tried to put on European shirts in the same awkward way. Between the trouser legs there is a slit that is laced together with a thin cord. /302/ If our clothing owes its origin to a sense of modesty, the Bakaïrí has taken another course, or he must be regarded as a bad satirist, for on some specimens he has hung on the outside a penis consisting of a

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framework of stalks in which sat small sanyama birds amidst flocks of cotton, lizards plaited out of straw, as well as two sword-like pieces of wood painted black and white, which represented rattle-makes -- /303/ all, except the circularly cutout ball-gourds, were provided with straw funnels for setting them on the head. In addition, rattle-gourds and fist-rattles made of hard fruit shells.

As for masks, I obtained in Maigbri a longish oval mask of net plaiting with a beard of burití fibers, a pendant of Orthalicus shells, and a wide-meshed net hood trimmed with curassow feathers. In the upper third, which is vertically intersected by a white stripe, but otherwise is painted red and dotted with black, there are the two eyes in the form of two straw rings; a band of straw borders the tongue-shaped nose which is on the edge above the eyes. The lower two thirds have a white loam background and on it exhibit the meresehu design in black and neatly drawn. The most striking thing, however, is the picture of a piava fish, tonfichi, which in the continuation of the stripe in the center of the face stands in the middle of the meresehu design. The black dotting of the upper part is probably also connected with it.

Fig. 93.
Net plaited-mask with piava fish. Bakairí. (1/10 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

We obtained eight wooden masks, all with black, red, and usually also white painting. They are heavy, flat wooden plates laboriously worked out with the stone ax, out of which the forehead

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532 535 [239] part projects with considerable curvature. They also have a huge nose of human shape, which, along with the rest, is carved out of one piece. The mouth consists of a set of piranha teeth pasted on with wax. The eyes are small holes decorated with little pieces of mother-of-pearl, or they appear in two masks as a pair of river mussels pierced in the center. Hoods, from which, as always, long straw hangings flutter down, are plaited on the wooden plates for putting them on the head. In the places corresponding [239] [219] to the ears, the Bakairí were in the habit of inserting two beautiful yellow japú feathers (Cassicus), which they themselves wear as a sort of tribal mark. These feathers are also to be noted on the costume of the man with the imeo cap (cf. page 344).

532 535 525 Six of the masks were identified for us as bird masks. We have, first of all, a mask, Fig. 94 /see p. 351/, which represents a dove, papadíri, secondly a /304/ /Figs. 96-97 appear here/ /305/ gull mask, kakaya, see Fig. 44, page 289, thirdly the mask of a small bird unknown to us, which is said to live along lagoons and is called alapübe, Fig. 95, fourthly the arakuma mask, which represents a cock of the woods and is characterized by a wooden stem representing the head ornament of the animal, Fig. 96, and, finally, two tüwetüwe masks, one with a black indented decoration, the other with a red one, which refer to a songbird with a white head and red shoulder markings, Fig. 97. Of the bird masks described, only the gull mask (cf. the illustration on page 289) has the mereschu decoration, and it may doubtless be assumed that this is supposed to characterize the fish-catching water bird, since the mereschu is not shown in the net but separately.

The two most attractive masks were called yakuí-ikúto, that is, "piranha picture." They bear red cheek markings; on the one specimen we see two red triangles with the tips touching between nose and mouth, and the triangles are so large that each takes up one-fourth of the plate. (Cf. Fig. 12, p. 168.) By means of this painting the larger piranha species of those waters, the papo amarello (yellow throat) of the Brazilians, adorned with a brilliant orange, is reproduced. The eyes are pierced shells. The

[TEXT Continues on P. 352]

2. Steinen--351 E, D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1824. SPT Bacairi-P7

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Fig. 94.
Papaûiri dove. Bakaïrí. (1/6 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

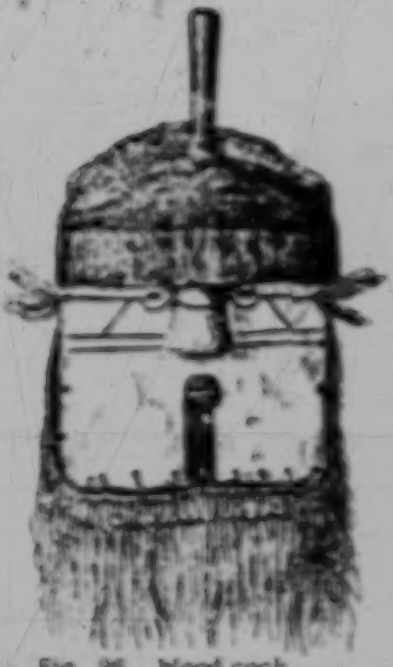

Fig. 96. Wood cock. Bakaïrí. (1/5 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

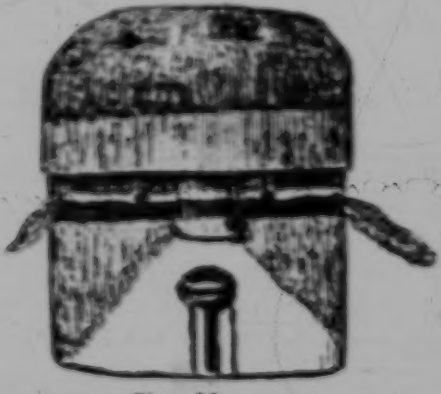

Fig. 95.
Alapübe bird. Bakaïrí. (1/5 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

Fig. 97. Tüwetüwe bird. Bakaïrí. (1/6 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

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532 The handsomest decoration of these two masks, however, are the
535 enormous arara feathers inserted in the elongated nasal septum
825 and projecting far to the right and left. They are inserted into
237 a little bamboo rod decorated with tauchi. Thus the Indians are so far from feeling obliged to give the animal represented its zoological physiognomy that they even pierce its nasal septum and adorn it with feathers, in accordance with their own custom.

535 We came across three fantastic dance costumes in the flute house of the third Bakaïrí village. Only one, however, was still in good condition. It was called kualõbe and looked like a small hut. This straw costume was truly a small house, and hence it is probably on account of the straw covering that the Bakaïrí call their dance costumes, including the buriti doublet provided with trouser legs and sleeves, "houses." The straw hoods were also called "head houses." The expression, however, when the word was transferred to our woolen shirts and cloth trousers, became incomprehensible. The monster was much too heavy for us to take along. It was almost ten meters in circumference at the bottom. It was constructed like a huge crinoline with five cross-hoops heavily covered with straw, but was worn on the shoulder with two bast loops attached to the upper ring. One of the Indians obliged us by crawling into it. He put on the tũwetũwe mask and went into twisting and rocking movements. The hollow tree lying in front of the festival hut was beaten as an accompaniment to the kualõbe. "It is not a makanari," the Bakaïrí say. I do not know whether they meant that it was of foreign origin. Also, I am unable to decide whether there is a connection between this dance [130] and the kurimatá fish (Salmo curimata), which in Bakaïrí /306/ is called koãlu. At any rate, the tũwetũwe mask, which the native [530] dancing before us put on, does not go with it, but rather a kuãbi sieve-mat. A sieve-mat consisting of little reed rods plaited together was provided with feather ornaments and worn in front of the face. This rush mask, or kuabi, however, lay in shreds on the ground.

2. Steinen--353 C,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP? Bacairi SP?
Yaruma SP25
Nahuqua

Y ?306 cont./
535 Nahuquá. I have already described on page 77 the eremo dance which the Nahuquá performed for us and in which a woman also took part. Plate 7 /see p. 73/ reproduces the little drama very well. The dancers, who, with nets in front of their faces, strode toward each other in an extremely stooped position and beat their green branches together rhythmically, were demonstrating with their pantomime the kinds of fishing done at the river hurdle or at

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532
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Fig. 88. Kualõhe dancer with tüwetüwe mask. Bakairí.

Y
535 similarly obstructed places: the fish are driven together at the narrow
Y exit and plunge into the nets held ready there. I have also reported
[534] on page 77 about the big round dance which they called amakakatí; obviously the gourd rattle, which is especially prized by the Nahuquá, played an important role in it.

/317 cont./

I 532 535 [171]

as for straw mats. Some /318/ of the plaited masks are of the same type as among the Auetö and Kamayurá, but usually the entire surface of the texture is covered with the black merexchu design on a white background, in one case with horizontal rhombuses and without neck stripe or center stripe, while on others the latter is reduced to a black line. /Figs. 116 and 117 appear here./

Eyes and nose are usually three equal-sized lumps of wax next to one another in a row and knotted on with a piece of buriti fiber. On only one mask is a pair of bright shell disks pressed on the eye-lumps. The mouth is a black wax ring that looks like a pessary and so large that nose and mouth have room in it. All the facial parts are confined to the upper half, in fact the upper third, of the oval.

On a number of masks the painting is simply a black background with a red center stripe or a red background with a black center stripe in which nose and mouth are placed or which extends only to the mouth.

/319/ In the case of three masks, however, there is more. On No. 1: black background, white center stripe accompanied by a white line on either side; touching it is the triangular cheek part which consists of a red and a white stripe, the black background stripe, and a red border triangle. The mask reminds one very much of the first wax mask of the Auetö, Fig. 107 /see p. 360/. No. 2: black /Fig. 118 appears here/ background, red center stripe, two white border triangles on either side, outlined by a white zigzag line. No. 3: white background on the outside and top, inside a black background the width of the eyes and to a height to include the eyes, with a red center stripe up to the mouth ring.

B *171 532 535

II. Common Origin of the Masks and the Merexchu Design.

We have no difficulty understanding the Bakairí who put on animal figures plaited out of straw and heads of animal skins, but we cannot help but find it strange that there are facial parts of human form on the animal masks. One would expect a dove

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 371]

/319 cont./ B 171* 532 535

mask, for example, to have a bill and not a nose with a mouth beneath it. On seeing such a dancer, one has the feeling that he is going to call out to us pleasantly: "Don't think that I am really a dove. I am a

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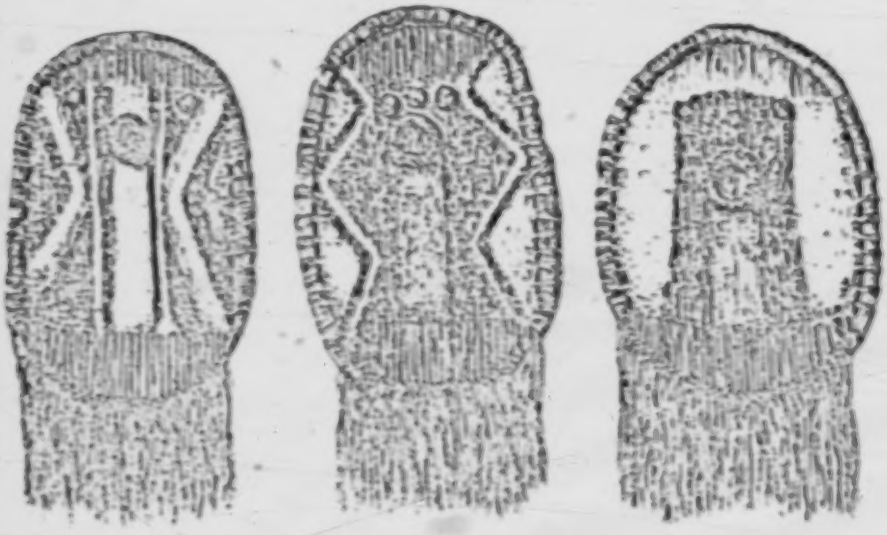

Fig. 118. Trumaí masks, painted black, white, and red. (1/6 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

B 171* 532 535

human being, like you, and am merely /320/ pretending to be a dove as you can hear by my cooing and can convince yourself by the painted dots on my feathers."

"Know ye, therefore, that I am Hans Schnock, the carpenter
Not a wild lion, forsooth, and not a lion's wife."

In fact, the masks are not by any means merely face masks. Eyes, nose, and mouth are restricted to the upper part of the field, and the center stripe marks the continuation of the body with the neck, wing, fin, side line, neck and shoulder markings appear next to it. On the fish makanari of the Bakaïrí, which is a work made with great care and love, we miss the mouth and see a large fish in the middle of the mereschu design. The Auetö, finally, look out from under their masks, through the hood; moreover, a large part of the wooden-mask eyes are made so that the holes are too small and not the proper distance apart to be suitable for looking through; they are for the spectator, not for the wearer.

/320 cont./

*171 532 535 How should we picture to ourselves the developmental history of the masks? Let us take as a starting point the straw hoods of the Bakaïrí and their pintado mask, page 346. This masquerade was already a great advance as compared to their dressing up in an animal skin and hangings of strips of straw. The people plaited animals for themselves, put some on their heads and crawled into others. From the products of the drawing art and from the plaited figures we know how little they need for characterization. They drew a piece of vine through the upper part of the costume; that was the barbels and sufficed for a demonstration of a pintado fish. They do not find it necessary to carry the imitation further; even today they do not need a pintado face-mask. The Indians enhanced the effect of their straw hoods, however, by putting wax eyes, nose, and mouth on them and plaiting in a hoop that outlined the oval of a face. This mask was more decorative than imitative; it developed from the straw lattice to the fiber plaiting that could have loam put on it and be painted. It was provided with the fish design or the markings of an animal, or an animal was painted on.

*171 535 532 525 [527] It is very natural that fish should play the chief role, since they were caught in masses on their expeditions and thus furnished the opportunity for a general festival. The yakuí dance, the dance of the small schakú chickens, may also be associated with more abundant hunting booty. "All the larger species maintain themselves individually, the smaller ones usually gather in large flocks which may grow to a hundred or more individuals." (Brehm's Tierleben /Animal Life/, Vögel /Birds/ II, page 628). Thus we are not surprised that we hear nothing about the jaguar or the tapir or other game mammals that appear in the Tekuna masks: these furnished only occasional booty, whereas it was precisely quantity that offered the occasion for a banquet to be celebrated with many neighbors.

*171 532 535 /321/ If one recalls, however, how the Nahuquá covered the head with a fish net for their eremo dance and demonstrated by their pantomime the herding together of fish by a band of people, one will not reject the thought that the oval woven mask has more

/321 cont./

*171 than external similarity in common with the fish net stretched in
● 532 a frame in the same shape. If the Indian had hit upon the idea of
535 the mask-hoop by starting from the shape of the face, he would have used the entire field for the face, whereas the latter now takes up only a part of the space and is treated with less care than the painting. The fish makanari of the Bakaïrí is nothing but a net with narrow meshes and thus suitable for holding the loam.
[237] The net hood attached to it could be there today for the sake of the feather ornamentation, since the feathers must be tied into the meshes, but for this reason it is just as likely possible that the net is older then the feathers, which are otherwise missing on the hoods. Perhaps our oldest oval plaited mask, therefore, is merely the fish net added to the straw costume and decoratively fashioned. In this case it is far easier to understand why the characterization of the animal is so little emphasized; the net was decorated and even characteristically decorated, but it was not incorporated into the costume for the sake of an anatomical likeness.

*171 This also gives us an explanation of the mereschu design. The
53 mask -- fish-net was plaited more closely because it concealed better and could now be painted. But the old, wide-meshed net was painted on and the little fish set in. There is one point which seems to me to prove that I am right, a point which is very strange by itself, but would then be quite easily explained. My cousin Wilhelm pointed out to me that the Indian always paints the mereschu design standing, that is to say, the larger diagonal of the rhombus upright, the smaller one crosswise. This can no longer be seen on the round spindle whorls when they are finished, but we watched the incising and observed that the figure was made standing, and precisely the same thing happened in the pencil drawings. I could not therefore show the figure on page 288, Fig. 43, horizontally, which would probably have seemed more natural to us, I therefore also arranged all the spindle whorls with the mereschus horizontal, and lastly, though more for fun, I stood the original mereschu, page 286, on its tail.

/322 cont./

*171 531 825 Nowadays the design has become purely ornamental. There is no direct, inherent connection between the mandioca digging sticks and the little lagoon fish. But one thing will have to be admitted. The significance of the little fish grew far beyond what it was originally because it recalled happy days of festivity: all industry having to do with drinking, feasting, and adornment seized upon it. Thus, there is good reason why the large gourds and calabashes in which the pogu is served, the beijũ turners with which the hospitable cakes are tirelessly turned on such days, the gourd vessels in which the gorgeous feathers were kept, the rattle-gourds waved for the dance, the spindle whorls with which the thread for the woven masks was spun, why all these and similar things were decorated with the mereschu fish. The origin of ornamentation lies in a motivated feeling, and it is only when its manifestations have become numerous and trivial that no one sees anything but figure and color. The favorite pictures of our people appear after all on colored handkerchiefs. The mereschu design was able to spread from tribe to tribe and became established everywhere just because it grew out of the festival dances in which all the tribes joined.

/323/ Yet it should not be forgotten that the Indian even today remains aware of the concrete original. The Bakaĩrí does [562] [535] not put a mereschu fish on his masks, with the exception of the gull mask, Figure 44, and the fish makanari, Figure 93, and among other tribes too -- see the wax masks of the Auetö and the black, white, and red masks of the Trumaí -- there are distinct differences which I am unable to define more specifically. In the beginning, the fish was not appropriate in all the cases where today the rhombus has already crept in or will creep in soon.

*171 53 One must now ask the question: if the woven masks and the mereschu design go back to the fish net, are there any facts for determining which tribe was the inventor? The mereschu fish was designated to me as a "lagoon fish" (we ate it among the Yaulapiti), but it occurs everywhere in our area, even in the [226] Paranatinga. Fishing with nets is also practiced by all tribes.

/257 cont./
539 in quiet areas, where there are no human beings, it is always
825 on the move in the morning and afternoon, except during the hot hours in the middle of the day which it spends sleeping"; in other words, all of the phrases between quotation marks, taken from the book by Dr. Goeldi on the mammals of our land (pp. 92, 99, 103, and 106), confirm what has been said concerning the shadowy character of the Yamũras.

539 /258/ Other considerations, however, seem to us of
174 greater moment.

First of all, in the enumeration of the belongings of the Yamũras, we have a basis for a list of the cultural acquisitions of the Bacaeris. We learn that they had nets for fishing before [229] [352] [501] [412] [532] they had nets /hammocks/ for sleeping, that they traveled by water when they did not yet have pestles, and that they probably had maracá before they had the masks with which they appear at their festivals.

539 We also see that although theoretically the abode of the
776 Yamũra is in the sky, a large part of his existence is spent on the earth from which he derives his sustainance. Subsistence, however, is not his sole concern; free of the contingencies of time and space, he travels swiftly as the wind, he is an envious being who spies upon all actions and weighs upon the living with crushing pressure. There is hardly an act that he does not influence: gestation, childbirth, alimentation, festivals, walking hours, everything falls within his inexorable reach, as we shall see later. It would seem that the Bacaeris could paint their bodies as they please. But this is not so.

776 Yamũra does not like urucú, --this is why one must not
789 scatter the urucú seed, says the piahi;--Yamũra goes into the
824 houses of people with children, --this is why we burn the juice
302 of the rubber tree--when it is burned it is rubbed on the door;--fathers of boys, when they go to the river, paint themselves with genipap, --paint themselves with urucú, --so Yamũra thinks that it is blood; if the boy's father does not paint himself

/258 cont./

776 and goes to the river, Yamũra throws himself in the water;--
789 he likes guanandi /Calophyllum brasiliense/ resin;--burned
824 cotton seed makes Yamũra run far /259/ away; Yamũra is very
302 fond of colored clay and loam;--he does not like copaiba resin;--when jatobá is burned Yamũra does not like it, says the piahi.

796 Finally, since there are certain animals which for him are
825 a means of subsistence, his ferramenta /iron tools/, if it is permissible to say this in connection with peoples who have not reached the metal stage, it is natural that Yamũra should protect them with the same care and vigor with which a Bacaeri
784 would protect his canoe or his bow. There are animals whose injury is punished immediately: for example, the Sucuri, in one of the passages cited above, or the Topiéhi, a little bird that will be dealt with more conveniently later on. These are truly tabú or tapú, an expression used in Australia, and which, being widely known, demands no explanation. It is possible to come to terms with regard to the others, and this is done in a most reasonable way, by giving to the Yamũra in prepared form the food that he would have to prepare in the campo.
782 It is mandatory, however, that the dead animal be put to good
796 use; otherwise antas, pacas, and pigs will attack clearings,
532 destroying them; and to propitiate the Yamũra it is necessary to give a feast, naturally masked, which they attend incognito. After eating well, they regard themselves as satisfied and the scourge ceases.

825 The following passage expresses more clearly the idea of
796 payment, and, although it is somewhat repetitious, it is not
782 redundant.
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If the Guariba /howler monkey/ (Mycetes) is killed, it must be paid for, says the piahi; if the macaco Coatá /spider monkey/ (Ateles) is killed, if the Preguiça /three-toed sloth/

/35 cont./

result of the latter's continuous movement to the Rio Paranatinga. Indian influence on the eastern Bakairí had increased once more, and when in the year 1927 I visited the Simões Lopes Post, where in the interval all the Bakairí had settled either at the post itself or in its vicinity, it was still possible to find there many ancestral implements and customs. In the Bakairí houses there were many objects made in the native manner, so that I was able to acquire a relatively large collection for the Berlin Ethnographic Museum. Among the objects in this collection were, as already mentioned above, several that came from the region of the tributaries of the upper Xingu River itself, which the Xinguanos had brought with them when they had moved to the Rio Paranatinga or which these Indians had received later from Indians of other tribes as the latter visited Simões Lopes. Among the objects from the region of the upper Xingu River tributaries we may note especially the fired clay vessels which were imported in large quantities, because, according to the Bakairí, there was no clay suitable for making them at Simões Lopes. The large fired clay ollas found in large numbers in Bakairí houses and used to boil the pyserego drink were obtained from the Mehinakú. A good example of the small vessels that came from the region of the upper Xingu River tributaries is shown in Figure 25. This vessel (V.B. 9870), (42) one of the appendages of which is characterized,

42. This is the catalog number of the Berlin Ethnographic Museum.

by the formation of a mouth, by an animal head, corresponds in shape to a specimen of such a vessel which I brought in the year 1901 from the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí (43) and to other similar

43. Max Schmidt, Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brazilien, loc. cit., p. 401, Fig. 275 /257/.

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[126]
[532]
[531]
/35 cont./ specimens collected by Karl von den Steinen which were said to represent bats. To the basic, dark color of the outer surface of the vessel, brown paint is applied on the walls in parallel vertical strips and on the bottom of the vessel in curved lines emerging from the circumference of a circle whose center is the center of the pot bottom. The height of this pot reaches 10.5 cm. and the diameter of its upper rim, 26.5 cm. Two other fired clay vessels, both smaller, are represented in Figures 26 and 27, one of which (V.B. 9877) has a height of 11.5 cm. and an upper rim diameter of 26 cm., and the other (V.B. 9874) a height of 12.5 cm. and an upper rim diameter of 20 cm. Of the other objects from the region of the upper Xingu River most were ornaments. The necklace shown in Figure 24 (V.B. 9957) and made of small shell disks (diameter: 0.8 cm.) and a large stone bead was given to me in Simões Lopes by my old friend, the Bakairí, Karía, as a particularly precious object from former times. Other ornamental objects in my collection are shown in the following photographs:

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Figure 24, a. A necklace of small shell plates /chapitas/ (V.B. 9956. Length of the plates, 2.5 cm.).

/36/ Figure 23, c. A necklace of shell disks with a zoomorphic (bird) pendant of fruit rind (V.B. 9954).

Figure 23, b. Zoomorphic stone pendant for a necklace.

Figure 23, a. Feather diadem. (V.B. 9968.) Length 36 cm. Width 8 cm.

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Among the cultural goods of the Bakairí which we must also regard as products of the native industry, but which, in contrast with those just described, were apparently made by the Bakairí of the Simões Lopes Post themselves, we may point out first of all the various kinds of plaited objects, because they will serve to complement on various points my previous publications on Bakairí plaited objects. (44) For this reason I shall

[113]

44. Max Schmidt, Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien, loc. cit., pp. 330-371.

/36 cont./

535 126 [531] Cacique Pires' house, where they were used in the dance fiestas staged at specific times by the Xinguanos. The fire-engraved embellishments enhanced with black paint are wholly ancestral. Besides circles and spirals they also include other decorative elements of the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí. The length of these sticks reaches from 76 cm. to 100 cm. and their diameter from 1.7 cm. to 4.5 cm.

532 126 Of the figures made of maize husks, such as the Bakairí of the upper Xingu River tributaries had in former times, I found two specimens in the settlement of Xinguanos on the Rio Paranatinga, which represent birds (V.B. 9964 and 9965. Length 15 cm.) A ball made of husks of ears of maize (V.B. 9966. Length 21 cm.) such as was used by the Bakairí of the Kulisehu in general for their game with a ball, which they called tõju, is shown in Figure 31, b.

126 532 751 Small figures in the form of the human figure shown on Figure 23, d (V.B. 9961. Length 10 cm.) were placed, in Simões Lopes, around the /37/ necks of newborn babies to protect them from illness. I had acquired a good, old specimen of such a figure which was tied with an animal claw from the necklace of the little girl of a woman belonging to the Bakairí who had moved from the Rio Novo. A day later she came with her child to ask me to return to her the necklace with the pendant, because the child had fallen ill after the loss of the necklace. She exchanged the old figure for the new one shown in Figure 23, d.

211 194 179 Finally, I must still mention the notched board shown on Figure 31, a (V.B. 9969. Length 23.5 cm.) Since such boards, probably intended as mnemonic aids, are not found among the Bakairí of the upper Xingu River tributaries, we must assume that this case is an instance of foreign influence in later times.

Plate XII

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Fig. 25. Baked clay vessel (bat). Bakairí in Simões Lopes.

Fig. 28. Pestle for a mortar. Bakairí in Simões Lopes.

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[412]

Fig. 26. Baked clay vessel. Bakairí in Simões Lopes.

Fig. 29. Wooden mortar. Bakairí in Simões Lopes.

Fig. 27. Baked clay vessel. Bakairí in Simões Lopes.

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Fig. 30. Barbecue of Bakairi in Simões Lopes.

Plate XIV

Fig. 31. a. Notched board for remembering numbers. b. Ball of ... ear of maize. Bakairi in Simões Lopes.

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Fig. 32. Figures in the form of birds, made from maize husks. Bakairi-Xingu Indians of the Rio Paranatinga.

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534 sticks decorated with geometric designs. These sticks are still used in Bakairí dances in Simões Lopes.

535 533 Our informants remembered the following dances and songs: oriko, a dance performed with the help of the adorned sticks, at no specific time; iauaisári, the maize song; mahulauari, performed at the time of the construction of a new house; pahoevatá, performed at the time of the ceremony of the perforation of the boys' ears, and the maize celebration, or anjéintabiénli.

535 532 825 [784] In the sacred dances, barred to women, masks representing various animals were used. In our opinion these masks did not represent the animals proper but rather the iamüra, lords of these animals. This would justify the fact that these representations are so far removed from reality, even in terms of native art.

703 The Bakairí myths related by Karl von den Steinen and Capistrano de Abreu mention Tchini (or Keri, the sun), Numa (or Kame, the moon), (16) and Nakoeri. (17) Tchina and Numa

16. Karl von den Steinen, op. cit., pp. 447-492.

17. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, pp. 45-50, 235-240.

or Keri and Kame, the sun and the moon, are twin creator heroes of the Bakairí. The same task of /269/ creating the [616] [174] Bakairí is attributed to Nakoeri. The nonexistence of moieties among the Bakairí leads us to regard the myth of the twin heroes as a borrowed feature, since there does not seem to be a justifying correspondence in their social organization. The 539 Paranatinga Indians told us the following myth:

Iamadili or the Origin of the Day.

In the beginning the world was so dark and so cold that the Indians had to cover their bodies with

[P 92-B]

Bacairí

323 pots are quite distinct from the pottery of the Indians living on the Upper Paraguay River. Bacairí pots are flat-bottomed and have straight vertical walls with everted rims. The pots in common use were, and still are, black in color, unglazed, and undecorated. Some of the pots [532] seen were made in the forms of frogs, turtles, fish, and birds. The Bacairí claim that they [531] formerly had decorated pottery called *awiga*, painted with black, gray, red, and brown designs.

476 The Bacairí also had economic activities in which the whole village, or a number of communal houses, participated. The *kometí*, or collective land clearing, was one of these. A man would invite a large number of relatives and friends to assist him in clearing a new piece of forest land. The women would participate by pre- [712] paring large amounts of food and honey beverage for the workers. The new field would remain the property of the man who initiated the *kometí*, obligating him to work in return if called upon, but sometimes the group of men who cleared the field would divide it among them.

House building was always an enterprise in which the whole village took part. The group that was interested in raising the house cut the beams and poles necessary for the framework and prepared large quantities of food. While a certain number of men began to put up the framework, others went to gather grass for thatching. When they returned with the thatching they put [535] on their ceremonial decorations and danced the *mahukwári* dance. House building was thus not only an economic act but also a ceremonial occasion.

Hammock weaving was, at times, a collective enterprise. A woman with a larger than usual cotton crop distributed cotton among her friends and when the work was completed she organized a feast and dance.

Ceremonial trading expeditions (*tuluki*) were organized by the chief of the village. During the rainy seasons, when the rivers were high and canoe travel easy, the men of a village would [622] collect whatever excess goods they had, such as bows, baskets, ornaments, hammocks, and even food, and would go to a neighboring village where the chief would receive them before the ceremonial house. The two chiefs would then supervise the exchange of commodities. After the trading was